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NEITHER President Wilson's friends nor his enemies have felt uncertain as to the real reasons impelling the President to attend the Peace Conference. Underneath the apparent unity of war time, political sentiment throughout the Allied world has developed sharp lines of division. There are at present two great international parties. One of these looks forward to a peace of reconciliation, to be perpetuated by a solidly established League of Nations, under which every state, great or small, shall enjoy security, justice and equality of economic opportunity. The other party would impose a punitive peace, to be perpetuated by a formal or informal combination of the chief Allied Powers, with their frontiers strengthened by strategic annexations and the Central Powers kept under control by dismemberment, by naval and military restrictions and by economic burdens and discriminations. The former party, predominantly liberal and labor, has come to regard President Wilson as its natural leader. It believes that his presence at the Peace Conference will place an effective check upon the machinations of the Tories, the imperialists and the exponents of an international order founded on power instead of justice and good faith. And the American opponents of a liberal peace have been equally convinced that the President would exert a potent influence upon the settlement. For that reason, and essentially for that reason alone, they have been fertile in the invention of reasons why the President should remain away from the Peace Conference.

WHAT made the whole world listen eagerly to the President's message was the hope of the liberals, the fear of the reactionaries, that now at last the President would come out into the open and throw down the gauntlet to the enemies of the kind of peace for which he stands. Such tactics would doubtless have solidified the international party of reaction, but it would also have focused democratic sentiment everywhere. In the final conflict around the peace table the reaction might still have been the winner, but, if so, it would have been by virtue of superior strength, not by virtue of craft, in which it excels. And in the uncertain popular temper of Europe, it is a question how far the reactionaries would care to go, if the issue of force were sharply drawn. Even the most conservative of European statesmen would prefer not to be exposed in their illiberalism at a time when Bolshevism is rampant. But President Wilson has not chosen to draw the issue. Ostensibly he goes to Paris merely to offer an authoritative interpretation of principles universally acceptable. That is an evasion that liberals throughout the world must bitterly regret.

THOSE who hoped that the President's address would promise vigorous leadership for the period of reconstruction must now be thoroughly disillusioned. It was not to be expected that in the press of international business the President should have had time personally to work over such problems as railway, shipping, labor and agrarian reconstruction and to outline definite poli-

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cies relating to them. But the President is supplied with a body of advisers who should have been able to conduct thorough inquiries and outline for the President policies that he could safely accept as his own. Only the Treasury Department appears to have had a programme tangible enough to be underwritten by the President—and that, as it happens, is not a very far-seeing or enlightened programme. As for the rest, the President has referred the whole matter to Congress, without prejudice and without preference, knowing very well that in Congress there is practically no-sign of leadership or of vision.

SO far as external policies are concerned ex-Governor Hughes's address at Columbia University will bring comfort to American liberals who have been afraid that the Republican party might fall solidly behind the blind traditionalism of Poindexter and Lodge. The most radical adherents of world reorganization by means of a League of Nations can find satisfaction in Mr. Hughes's contention that the forthcoming treaty of peace must not only make provision for an international tribunal for the judicial determination of the questions arising under the treaty, but must make provision "for other international conferences, or what will be in substance international assemblies of a legislative character, where additional rules of international conduct will be established by consent of the nations." The great drawback of all schemes for international government by judicial tribunal is that without a legislature to change the rules of international relations in harmony with changing conditions, courts would be limited to the enforcement of the status quo, which often becomes intolerable injustice. It is, therefore, a great gain that a jurist like Mr. Hughes should show himself free from the narrow legislative conception of international relations and recognize that treaties and courts alone cannot satisfactorily settle all international difficulties. With the last Republican Presidential nominee as well as the last Republican President thus clearly in favor of a League of Nations, Messrs. Roosevelt and Lodge may yet fail to impose their opposition on the Republican party in the Senate.

MR. HUGHES is not one of those who would have everything as it was before the war. He would put an end to the policy of prohibiting business combinations as such, and require the government "to provide intelligent supervision which will aim at the detection and punishment of abuses and not at the crippling of opportunities rightly used." He would also put an end to "futile opposition to the right of collective bargaining on the part of employees." All this is good so far as it goes. If we can actually devise methods of control by which we can retain the advantages of business combination without suffering under the oppression of monopoly, why should we persist in the endeavor to keep competition alive? Especially if the business combination is ready to accept loyally the correlative principle of labor combination. But if Mr. Hughes has worked out such methods of control, he does not disclose them. Those who have followed the record of Mr. Hughes's achievements will be confident that any methods of control that he might propose would be eminently efficient in protecting each tangible property interest against the encroachment of other interests. Cut-throat practices could not live under a regime devised by Mr. Hughes. That is much, but it is not all. What would Mr. Hughes do if his lawful combinations proceeded in the most gentlemanly way to raise prices and draw to themselves an undue share of the national income? He does not say. But until he is ready to accept price control, or public sharing of excess profits as an offset to freedom of combination, the plain citizens of America will continue to regard him as a class conscious, instead of a nationally conscious, statesman.

"IN saving the world, have we lost our Republic?" A great many persons besides Mr. Hughes have asked this question. One man is disturbed over the fact that freedom of press and of assembly have been restricted under the Espionage act as the founders of our government never intended them to be restricted. Another man is disturbed because freedom of conscience, the ideal which in our early history drew such multitudes of men and women to us from across the seas, has been pretty well shot to pieces by the administration of the conscription act. Still others are disturbed by the extent to which unlawful coercion has been applied to the individual, supposedly with patriotic intent but without warrant of law, and the acquiescence of the authorities in the process. Nothing of this kind disturbs Mr. Hughes. He is not trembling for human liberty threatened with chains, but for property curbed in its privileges. The Food Administration, which made possible the provisioning of our Allies, the Fuel Administration, which has managed somehow to keep the essential furnaces going, inspire Mr. Hughes with especial dread. What if they should be continued after the war? Government operation of railways is almost as terrifying to Mr. Hughes. Verily the Republic would be lost if the nation were to make up its mind to keep under strict control the three chief essentials of material existence, food, fuel and transportation.

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WHEN Lloyd George, three years ago, entered into a compact with Lord Northcliffe old friends warned him that he was trusting his fortunes to one who, having no principle, could not stick to a policy and, having no roots, political or other, could not be faithful to any ally. The sensational turning of the Northcliffe press this week fulfills exactly the expectation of all who know the currents of English political life. Lloyd George is attempting to ride all the horses in the ring together—promising the Liberals a settlement in Ireland and land reform for England, while offering tariffs to the Tories, and the German colonies to the mob, along with the Kaiser's head in a charger borne by that great champion of public law and right, Sir Frederick Smith. Northcliffe, on the other hand, sees the mounting tide of Labor and knows that the returning soldier will demand a policy of domestic reconstruction vastly more radical than the measures to which Lloyd George will be restricted if the election should leave him where he seems to be today, in the grip of the reactionaries led by the Bonar Laws, Curzons, Milners. Mr. George, it is probable, can make no fresh strategic stroke during the closing days of the campaign. But the chances are that on the whole this typical piece of treachery has done him a good turn. Because of it, on December 14th, Mr. George may be a million progressive votes to the good. The Northcliffe press has never won a general election.

THE United Berlin Soldiers' Council, by a vote of 300 to 2, has declared for the earliest possible calling of a national convention. The vote, which is a victory for the present moderate Socialist government, renders the immediate disruption of Germany less probable. The Germans are convinced of the necessity of standing together at the Peace Conference and they know that to break up into fighting factions means a restoration of order and the establishment of a government by Allied troops. On the other hand extreme Socialists of the Liebknecht type would probably welcome such Allied intervention, since their concern is less with the German republic than with a world revolution, which could not but be furthered by an Allied invasion. But the average German Socialist or non-Socialist fears a "dictatorship of the proletariat" which would lead to bloodshed, disorder, the secession of the South German states and the march of French and British troops to Berlin. That the moderate Socialists can keep permanent control is of course not assured. It will depend upon the food situation, upon the government's success in finding work for millions of demobilized soldiers, and finally upon the terms of peace, which may either permit Germans to work out the sentence within a reasonable period or may leave them hopeless and desperate. For the time being, however, the call for a national convention should unite all but the extreme parties.

THERE are several excellent reasons for withdrawing the Czecho-Slovak troops from Russian soil. First and foremost, they are needed at home. The new Czecho-Slovak state cannot afford to devote part of her scanty military resources to an enterprise of doubtful morality and policy which, besides, does not concern her in the least. In the second place, the Czecho-Slovaks in Russia are thoroughly discontented. Since the Omsk coup they have come to realize that they are really fighting in the cause of reaction, not in the cause of democracy. And, finally, their situation grows perilous. We may discount as heavily as we like the statement of General Syrovy, their acting commander, that by next summer the Bolsheviki will have a well organized army of between three and four million men. Yet we cannot escape the conviction that the forces opposed to intervention are growing stronger, and that the Russian accretions to the interventionist armies amount to nothing. This is admitted by the interventionists themselves, who are crying loudly for help. Help is not what the Czecho-Slovaks want, but release from the obligation imposed upon them, as a condition of their national liberation, to continue in an enterprise in which they have neither interest nor faith.

WHAT difference does it make whether we pay off our war debt as soon as we can or drag out the payments through several generations? There is a difference in the aggregate interest we shall have to pay, but if that interest comes out of the pockets of the American people, it goes back into the pockets of the American people. As a nation we are neither enriched nor impoverished by the transaction. Why then should anyone make an issue of early repayment? Frankly, it is a class matter. If the debt is to be paid off at an early date, we shall have to retain our present heavy taxes on incomes and profits. If repayment can be postponed, there is a fair chance that the interest, and eventually the principal also, can be extracted from the masses, through indirect taxation of wide incidence. Therefore the rich may be expected as a rule to oppose early repayment, and the poor, unless deluded by propaganda, ought to favor it. This is putting it bluntly, to be sure. Mr. Sisson, of the Guaranty Trust Company, speaking for "financiers," puts it far more suavely. The early payment of the debt "involves a redistribution of the control of the wealth of the country. Necessarily, the taxes will be paid quite largely

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by those whose incomes are evidence of their capability to use wealth advantageously for themselves and for society. Therefore, if we had an ideally just system of taxation, it would still be probable that the rapid payment of the debt from revenues collected would involve the transfer of wealth from those capable of using it so advantageously." Those advantageous users of wealth, of course, are the rich. Mr. Sisson does not draw the correlative conclusion, equally indisputable, that the slow repayment of the debt would involve the transfer of wealth from those who are not in his eyes capable of using it advantageously, the poor.

The Mob in High Places

RECENTLY the Socialists of New York City decided to hold a public meeting in order to celebrate the revolution in Germany and the foundation of a new socialistic republic, and to ventilate certain of their grievances against the American government about the conduct of the war. The managers of the meeting were scrupulously careful not to challenge the municipal authorities by proposing to display the red flag, and in assembling as they did they were only exercising one of the oldest and most precious rights of the citizens of a free state. Yet this meeting was assaulted by a mob of soldiers and sailors, and those who attended it were only partially and with the utmost difficulty rescued from extremely rough handling. A few days later another meeting, called not by the Socialists but by a woman's international league, for the purpose of supporting President Wilson's formulation of peace terms and the declared policy of the administration not to intervene in the domestic affairs of Russia, suffered from a similar assault. In both cases the police did their best to hold the rioters in check, and they succeeded fairly well. Yet the municipal government is alarmed at the disorderly temper of the soldiery and has appealed to the War Department for help.

There is nothing very extraordinary, nothing necessarily very sinister about these facts. Soldiers on leave are always prone to disorder. Advocates of compulsory service like to dwell upon the value of military discipline in molding the raw material of a democratic people into law-abiding and public-spirited citizens; but this claim is merely one of the many romances of the military mind. Soldiers generally think of themselves as men who, when their feelings are aroused, are privileged to use violence; and military discipline is necessarily so repressive that when men are temporarily released from it they naturally go on the loose. What is sinister about these incidents is less the riotous behavior of the soldiery than the prevailing attitude of the press and of well-to-do people toward the behavior of the soldiery. They find excuses for it and look upon it with scarcely concealed satisfaction. Like trades-union officials in the case of a strike, they do not openly approve of the unruly strikers who "beat up" a scab, but they are perfectly willing to accept "irregular" assistance in making the personal safety of their opponents precarious.

Their attitude of mind is fairly represented by the editorial comment on the first of these riots which the New York Times printed on November 27th. After congratulating the police on the workmanlike manner "with which they baffled the unlawful attack," the Times goes on to say: "As for the soldiers and sailors, they acted lawlessly, as it was perfectly certain they would act when a temptation beyond the power of the ordinary man to resist was held out to them. The condemnation justly due them for yielding to the temptation should be applied in much greater measure to those who held it out." These words point clearly to one conclusion. According to the Times, it is much more reprehensible for Socialists to assemble and ventilate their convictions in a perfectly orderly manner, than it is for a mob of soldiers to use violence in breaking up their meeting. If this verdict is true, the government should certainly deprive Socialists of the right of free speech and free assemblage. The exercise of the right as it now stands confronts a democratic state with an impossible alternative. It permits one group of American citizens to express opinions in public which are intrinsically so odious that another group of citizens is exposed to an irresistible temptation to beat them up. If the government does not abandon the right of free speech and free assembly and prohibit Socialist meetings, it is, according to the Times, practically provoking disorder. What would we think of a father who exposed his wayward son to an irresistible temptation to "lawlessness," and then punished the boy for yielding?

So far as we can observe, the Times in assuming this attitude of condoning violence when used against Socialists fairly represents the opinion of the American ruling class. This class has ceased to have any sincere belief in the desirability of free discussion as a safeguard against the accumulation of popular grievances and as a necessary condition of the vitality and mobility of public opinion. It is carrying over into a period of peace the appetite for suppression and persecution, the intolerance of opposition and the glorification of blind and unruly popular feeling which was stimulated by the war. The government unleashed the passion for persecution by beginning to prosecute and jail Socialists for

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declaring that America entered the war in the interest of capitalist domination. The accusation was absurd, and if the government had left it alone it would have soon fluttered helplessly to the ground. The great majority of Socialists were converted into loyal believers in the war by the President's international programme. It was the government itself which raised a barrier against the process of conversion by its yielding so easily to the demand for suppression. The one aspect of the national policy which enabled extremists to argue with some plausibility that it was a war of capitalist domination was the systematic effort to lock men and women up for uttering the charge. It associated the war with the suppression of Socialism. The partial suppression of Socialist agitation might with some show of reason be interpreted by fanatic Socialists as intended to fasten the grip of capitalism on the American republic.

The interpretation was not rendered any less plausible by the way in which the newspapers and the dominant element of public opinion joined in the persecution. The apparently powerful tradition in favor of freedom of speech and frankness of discussion was swept away without a qualm, and was superseded by a systematic effort to make the work of official suppression more complete by the condemnation of all unpopular opinions and of all those who insisted on freedom of discussion as unpatriotic. The more ardent practicers and advocates of intolerance were the very people who hitherto had prided themselves on their superiority to popular clamor and on the need of resisting it. As John Dewey has recently pointed out, the conservative critics of American democracy have always proclaimed that the great danger to orderly progress was the violence of the gusts of popular feeling, and that democracy would not survive unless checks and balances were provided against them. Yet there was not a single conservative in the country, lawyer, business man or publicist, who raised his voice against the deliberate propagation of the attitude of mind which more than anything else makes the headstrong and fluctuating will of the people dangerous to society, viz., its impatient intolerance of opposition and of discriminating discussion. In fact, the more conservative the newspaper and the citizen, the more recklessly they added fuel to the flames of intolerance, and the more contemptuous and disparaging they were of those who were trying to moderate and clarify feeling by keeping discussion alive.

Now that the war is over, these same people are showing every disposition to cling during peace to the license they have recently enjoyed of violently denouncing and suppressing Socialist agitation. As we have already pointed out, papers like the New York Times are using language which would justify a holy war on the part of organized society against agitators who are arguing in favor of revolutionary economic changes. They are already openly advocating the use of American troops which were drafted for a fight against Prussian militarism, in order to suppress the extremer forms of Socialism in Germany and Russia; and if any such action is adopted, the suppression by force of all those who sympathized with Bolshevism would not unnaturally follow. Yet if they do advocate or adopt a policy of suppression, or if they condone, as did the New York Times, the action of the mob in breaking up assemblages of assumed Socialist agitators, they will play into the hands of their enemies. The one thing the extreme Socialist agitators want and need is a sufficient excuse for violence, and by using violence against them organized society would be doing what it could to satisfy their need. They might have to wait a long time, but their chance would eventually come, as it has come in Russia and Germany.

The really dangerous revolutionists in America at the present moment are those conservatives who are wantonly and frivolously overthrowing the moral supports of the American democracy. Before we entered the war, the American social and political structure was by common consent supposed to rest upon vitality of public opinion, secured by means of the ventilation of popular grievances, the clash of opposing views, and the freedom of public utterance. During the war American conservative patrioteers deliberately cultivated a popular state of mind which sought unity not by honestly discussing differences of opinion, but by trying to bully and terrorize the objector. Now the war is over, do they mean to continue, as papers like the Times are now doing, to associate American patriotism with either the regular or the irregular authority of a mob mind? If they do they will be cutting the ground from under orderly constitutional agitation. They will be encouraging those whose interests are opposed to industrial reconstruction to confuse the preservation of those interests with the constitution of society. They will emasculate the process whereby alone government by popular consent and educational experiment can be successfully operated. They will force the American people to choose ultimately between a capitalist or proletarian dictatorship. They will deprive the politics back of conservation and of progress from the nourishment of a democratic faith and a democratic method.

The final test of the democratic method and faith is now coming. For the first time in modern history organized society is confronted by the fact of a lower class rather than an upper class dictatorship. It may be able to suppress that dictatorship just as

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it suppressed the revolutionary Prussianism of the ruling class in Germany; but if it uses the same methods to exterminate Bolshevism that it used to exterminate Kaiserism, its success will involve the ruin of democracy. Kaiserism was the expression of an inhuman greed for power. Bolshevism is the perverted child of popular distress, political and industrial violence, and individual and social frustration. Organized society cannot suppress it for long, because it thrives on suppression just as Christianity throve under persecution. All that it can do is honestly to try to accomplish by democratic methods and without violence the revolutionary improvement in the condition of the poor and the dispossessed that Bolshevism is attempting to accomplish by violence. The great enemy and the great danger at present, as Lloyd George declared, is not Bolshevism but reaction, and dissension. In this country it is the reactionaries who are doing their best to create irretrievable dissension and to cultivate a violent popular state of mind which will make impracticable the road to radical but orderly democratic progress. They whose interest it should be to submit all institutions and traditions to the constant test of free and fair public discussion are themselves setting the example of intolerance, impatience and factious intemperance, of abuse and provocation to violence. It is they who are repudiating the liberalism which has hitherto been characteristic of American democracy in all its phases and substituting for it a harsh irreconcilability and obscurantism of spirit, which, if they do not look out, will result in their own ruin.

Jugoslavia

WHAT informed American is there who is not in full sympathy with a free and united Jugo-Slav state? America knows what freedom is worth. She experienced oppression and threw it off by force of arms. That was, however, very mild oppression as compared with the Turkish oppression endured by part of the Jugo-Slavs down to the Balkan wars, and the Austro-Hungarian oppression we confidently expect the peace congress to abolish forever. We know what unity is worth, having fought a bitter war to establish it on a solid foundation. But if our union had been disrupted, we should still have remained two great, rich, populous nations. There are only twelve millions of Jugo-Slavs in all, on a territory not much greater than that of our state of California. If they are split into several states, no fragment of the race can count for much.

Americans are also aware, though perhaps vaguely, what South Slav unity and freedom mean for the future peace and progress of Europe and of the world. The Jugo-Slav lands have always been a corridor between the East and the West. Across them runs the only practicable road from Central Europe to the Aegean. The best routes from Central Europe to Constantinople and to the Black Sea are also dominated by them. What value modern nations place upon the control of routes is attested by the Great War. The Central Powers meant to seize the routes through the South Slav territories, though their effort should threaten the dissolution of civilization. They failed; but their failure does not bar forever all attempts to engross the routes of trade. A League of Nations will make such attempts extremely perilous. But what would condemn them in advance to futility would be the formation of a powerful and prosperous national state in command of the routes. A united Jugoslavia will very soon develop military resources sufficient to hold the highway to the Orient against any great Power on earth. Out of twelve millions of Jugo-Slavs a million brave soldiers could be recruited; and in the defiles and wooded passes of Jugoslavia a million men would be invincible.

Our deepest national sympathies, our most compelling international interests, command us to give active and intelligent support to the ideal of a united Jugoslavia. If we appear lukewarm and indifferent, that is because we are assuming that, as a matter of course, the nations assembled around the peace table will set up such a state. We have been so completely engrossed with the winning of the war in the west that we have given only the most fleeting attention to the problems that confront the patriots and statesmen of Jugoslavia. But these problems are extremely difficult, full of complexities.

The obstacles to Jugo-Slav union are both internal and external. There are bitter sectional and partisan jealousies and animosities within Jugoslavia itself, and there are territorial aspirations on the part of neighboring states that would prosper if the ideal of Jugo-Slav union failed. And, naturally, sectional strivings and alien intrigue fortify each other. We shall gain a clearer view of the problem if we look at some of the particulars.

The projected union of the Jugo-Slavs involves three peoples, the Serbs, the Croats and the Slovenes, who are of one stock and one temperament, but differ slightly in language, and more markedly in culture and in historical traditions. We may regard the barrier of language as relatively unimportant. The extreme of variation between the Slovene of Istria and the Serb of Macedonia is not so great as the extreme of variation between the Italian of Sicily and the Italian of the Po valley. The literary development that is sure to follow uni-

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fication will quickly iron out such linguistic differences as might act as a barrier to intercourse. More serious are the religious differences. By an accident of history, the Serbian lands became Orthodox, the Croatian and the Slovene lands Roman Catholic. Further, the Croats and Slovenes, under the Hapsburg monarchy, shared perhaps more generally in the western current of education and of modern ideas than the Serbs of the Monarchy; certainly than the Serbs of Macedonia, only recently released from Turkish slavery. Finally, the events of the war have worked in some respects toward disunion. Croats and Slovenes served in the Austrian armies that invaded Serbia and wasted her lands and destroyed her towns and cities. Many served unwillingly; some went over to the Allies and fought by the side of their brother Serbs. But it would be sheer propaganda to assert that none of the Croats and Slovenes were loyal to the cause of Austria-Hungary. There is too much evidence at hand that some of the Dual Empire's most capable officers and bravest regiments were Jugo-Slavs.

Accordingly, when the peoples of Serbia, Croatia and Slovenia are urged to form a united state, much is required of them. They are required to forget that they fought on opposing sides in the most atrocious of all wars. They are required to disregard the fact that in Balkan experience the Church is a politico-economic rather than a religious organization, and that the difference between Orthodox and Roman Catholic is not wholly disposed of by constitutional provisions safeguarding religious freedom. They are required to sink their particular cultural aspirations in the hope that the common culture will rise to the highest, not fall to the lowest level. What wonder is it that many Jugo-Slavs would prefer a tripartite autonomy to unification, and that many more would not care to see unification proceed beyond the limits of federation?

There is still another complication in the problem. In its inception the Jugo-Slav movement drew most of its impetus from Serbia. It was what we should call a Greater Serbian movement, and aimed particularly at the adoption into the monarchy of the Serbs of Montenegro, Bosnia, Herzegovina and the Banat of Temesvar. In the extension of the idea to include Croatia and Slovenia, the original conception of a Greater Serbia was merely attenuated. The union contemplated in the Declaration of Corfu was styled the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. Under the Serbian dynasty, the three parts of the South Slav race were to determine their own constitution. But the premise of a dynasty was a large reservation. What ground was there for assuming that the Croats and Slovenes, many of whom are republicans by instinct, would willingly become subjects of the House of Black George, for which in the past they had not always shown great esteem? Nor was it to be expected that the Serbs would sacrifice their king, who had exhibited a decidedly royal quality in the dark days when Austria and Bulgaria boasted that Serbia no longer existed. King Peter, undaunted, was a symbol that the boast was hollow. Therefore the Serbs mean to save him from the general wreck of kings and extend his sway. That is natural, just as the reluctance of Croatian and Slovene republicans to come in under a dynasty is perfectly natural.

If the Jugo-Slavs could be let alone through a few decades, the obstacles to union might be expected to smooth themselves out. But they will not be let alone. The territorial aspirations of the neighboring peoples will not remain quiescent. We may assume that the Bulgarian claim to Macedonia will not be pushed at the peace congress. Bulgaria's cue is not to be grasping. But Rumania, which has merited well in Allied eyes, wants the greater part of the Banat of Temesvar, the richest territory claimed by the Jugo-Slavs. Italy plainly intends to claim the whole of Istria, most of which is peopled by Slavs, and probably Dalmatia also. Nor is this all. Italy's claims in Epirus, the Dodecanese and the Greek mainland of Asia Minor, would tend to force Greece to seek expansion outside of the lands that are unquestionably Greek. There is an old claim of Greece to part of Macedonia which could be validated only at the expense of the Jugo-Slavs. But Greece might prefer to let Jugo-Slav territory alone and push for Turkish Thrace and the Bulgarian lands south of the Rhodope. Such an arrangement would result in perennial discontent in Bulgaria, and eventually to schemes of expansion into Macedonia, the least defensible land within Bulgaria's reach. Nor need we suppose that the Magyar state will sit by quietly while Jugoslavia and Rumania quarrel over the Banat.

If the spiritual union of the Jugo-Slavs had already been solidly established, the machinations of the neighboring states would count for little. But that union is still an aspiration. There are sectional and partisan sentiments within Jugoslavia upon which alien intrigue can play. Let us remember we are dealing with a problem of the Balkans, where intrigue enters into every equation. And while alien intrigue may appear to advance now one interest, now another, among those struggling for the mastery in Jugoslavia, its ultimate effect is bound to be the spoliation of every interest, every party. That is why a prompt and complete unification is imperative. Under other conditions a loose federation might be the wisest plan, but, as matters stand, federation, with its concomitant sectional

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jealousies, would leave the door open to alien designs.

The cause of Jugoslavia is, then, not by any means won. It has the latent sympathies of the western democracies, which if aroused to the necessity would set themselves resolutely against the sacrifice of Jugo-Slav soil for the benefit of any neighboring state. But the western democracies have not been aroused. This is in part the fault of the Jugo-Slav spokesmen themselves. For effectiveness of propaganda they have let us believe that all was harmony within; that all Jugoslavia was eager to be unified under the House of Karageorgevitch. If that were true, there would be no reason why the western democracies should be concerned about the matter. The peacemakers would no more think of taking any Jugo-Slav territory for the benefit of other nations of the Allied group than they would think of taking away, say, Italian territory for the benefit of France.

It is time for Jugo-Slav propaganda to end, and for the Jugo-Slav patriots to come out into the open and speak as democrats to democrats. "We have a great and worthy cause, national unity and independence. We have our personal preferences as to the constitution to be formed under union; perhaps we are royalists, perhaps we are republicans; we may desire Serbian influence to be paramount or we may be bitterly opposed to it; we may favor the Orthodox or we may favor the Roman Church. Those are quarrels within the family which we can settle later; we are ready to abide by any decision the bulk of our people prefer. On only one thing are we unalterably determined, unity within our natural frontiers; frontiers not determined by moldy records of the time of Stephan Dushan or the Venetian republic, but by the living will of living populations." Would America respond to such an appeal? Most certainly.

The Outlook for Protectionism

HIGH protection is again to come into its own in America: so its apostles are confidently asserting. For the next two years, to be sure, no significant change in American tariff policy can be expected. There is not sufficient protectionist strength in Congress to override a veto: accordingly almost all that can be done is to conduct an agitation. But if history repeats itself, the agitation will sail with a favoring wind. Every war in the past has produced an intensification of the national consciousness. After a war we are more keenly alive to the fact that we are Americans; something different from anything else in the world, and superior. The incantation, American goods made by American labor out of American materials, sounds more compelling in our ears. And, emotional considerations apart, there are practical considerations without end that enlist one group of employers and laborers here, another there, to the passionate support of protection. There are the new industries, like the manufacture of aniline dyes, that owe their existence to the cutting off of foreign competition by the war. Shall their invested capital, and the newly acquired skill of their personnel, fall victim to peace? What is more important, almost every industry which was able to hold its own against foreign competition before 1914 has since undergone a growth that took no exact account of costs. Almost every industry has its fringe of concerns that would produce at a loss if prices were to return to anything near the pre-war level. And this means that in the aggregate large numbers of employers and multitudes of workmen will face hard times unless protectionism succeeds to the trade-restricting function of war.

Another thing the protectionists are counting on is the fiscal condition of the country. Interest on the war debt, pensions, the support of institutions for the rehabilitation of maimed soldiers, reconstruction charges, and probably a permanently increased military and naval establishment will represent heavy drains upon the revenue. We cannot maintain income, inheritance and profits taxes at the war level without arousing bitter discontent among the classes which bear those taxes. They are a minority, but an uncommonly active and vociferous minority. They are a rich source of campaign funds and masters of propaganda. Add their influence to that of the industries directly interested in higher duties, and we have a powerful combination behind the protectionist ideal.

Certainly the protectionists might expect to have their own way two years hence if this had been an ordinary war, leading in its train only the conventional consequences of wars. Or even with a war so unlike all earlier struggles, if the Presidential election were to come off next spring, before the people of America have had time to perceive the essential differences, the path before protectionism would lie unobstructed. As matters stand, the protectionists have reason to hold their boasting until their battle is won. Much new light will gleam through in two years.

In the first place, it is not only probable that some sort of international organization reducing the chance of war will have been formed, but there will probably be a popular overestimate rather than an underestimate of its efficacy. Even after a bad peace, a peace containing within it the seeds of future war, a war-weary people has always acted as if it utterly disbelieved in a repetition of the horror. Never does the emotional type of pacifist

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find so friendly a hearing as immediately after a great war. It is not merely that the peoples wan eternal peace: they are inclined to believe in it Accordingly, if any kind of league is established no matter how imperfect theoretically, the averag American will feel that the chance of a new war is very remote indeed, and therewith the protectionist will lose one of his most potent arguments. "We must develop our own manufacture of dyestuffs or be caught short again in the next war." The next war? But we are through with wars.

The appeal to prejudice against "the foreigner" is also in the way of losing its potency. Against the Germans, to be sure, this prejudice can easily be invoked. Look into a hardware journal: you are likely to encounter this sort of sentiment. "Will you buy German cutlery? Think what they did with it in Belgium." But that is not an argument that will work against British, French and Belgian cutlery. At best it might create sentiment for the kind of discrimination that the peace compact will make impossible. It will not serve well the purpose of protectionism, which must excite a desire to curb the industries of all our foreign competitors. Most of those competitors have been our allies, with whom we expect to live on terms of perpetual friendship.

Indeed, are we not as a nation committed to the task of rehabilitating the industries of Belgium, France and England? Do we not demand that Germany shall pay for the machinery carried away, the factories dismantled? It is understood that American business men will maintain a system of priorities in favor of our Allies. If Belgium needs rails or structural shapes or machinery, we shall supply her before we consider the requirements of any neutral. If Belgium needs credits, she will enjoy a priority in this particular. It is understood that American business is ready to lend advisers, to help to establish Belgian industries not in their pre-war condition, but in the most advanced state known to modern industry. After we have done this, with what face shall we conduct our agitation for the exclusion of Belgian goods from our markets?

And this point brings up another. If we extend credit to our Allies, we must expect eventually to be repaid, with interest. We must expect the repayment, with interest, of the colossal sums we have loaned our Allies during the war. In what form are we to take payment? It cannot be in gold, for there would not be enough even if we could make use of it. It cannot be in American securities held abroad, for the supply of these has been greatly depleted. It might be in the form of British consols, French rentes; but this would only be to postpone the time of actual payment. Such securities, moreover, would yield an income we should have to accept in some form. That form, ultimately, cannot be any other than goods imported. Are we to erect a Chinese wall to keep those goods from coming to us? We are a practical people, and shall probably be able to distinguish between a debtor calling to pay off his debt and a thief attempting stealthily to enter our premises.

In the next two years our international experience will have broadened. We shall have been forced to recognize that we are now in a condition demanding a policy of facilitating imports, to enable foreign nations to pay off their debts to us, and to cover the costs of the immense volume of materials and machinery they will require from us. How is such a policy to be reconciled with old-fashioned, "all-around" protection, which endeavors to free every industry in the home market from the trials of foreign competition? It cannot be done.

One point more. We have become, in the course of the war, a great ship-owning nation. In two years the tonnage under the American flag will be immense. What are we intending to do with all those ships? Sell them to foreign nations? Every American nationalist would cry out in horror against such a proposal. We are going to sail those ships ourselves, carrying our own goods to every port. But if we intend to do this, we certainly do not intend to return them to our own ports in ballast. They will bring back cargoes of goods to be sold on our markets, for the most part, in competition with one of our industries or another. That is one of the consequences of possessing a national domain broad enough and varied enough to make a place for practically every production in the world.

We cannot return to the condition of national economic isolation that is the ideal of traditional protectionism. We must encourage imports if we wish to continue exporting, or even if we want merely to get back the money we have laid out abroad in the course of the war. And yet are we ready to open our gates to all imports? Hardly. At the bottom of our protectionistic instincts there is a grain of real national interest. We want just as rich and varied an economic life as possible. This means that we ought to make some provision for the industries not sufficiently acclimated with us, yet likely in the end to become independent of tariffs. We want to deal justly with those who invested their capital and skill in enterprises of vital necessity to our war programme. This means that we should arrange for a period of liquidation, in which such industrial concerns would be protected against too merciless foreign competition.

But it may be objected that if we offer infant industry protection to some, liquidation protection to others, we have accepted an elastic principle that

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will stretch around every greedy design of home market monopoly. Every industry which is not stagnant has its quota of incipient ventures, of costly ventures justified financially only by war prices. Every industry could, therefore, claim protection, however capable of doing without it.

Every industry can, indeed, claim protection under these principles, but it will not if the American people have grasped the possibilities of control latent in our war finance. Let any industry demanding protection submit to an excess profits tax: nothing at all on earnings under ten per cent, half of earnings between ten and twenty per cent, nine-tenths of earnings above twenty per cent. Every industry which could meet foreign competition and make good profits would be dead against protection coupled with such an excess profits tax. In an industry whose inferior establishments cried for protection, the superior establishments would very likely be found in opposition to it.

Under such a plan the infant industry could be assured prosperity, the high-cost producers in any industry could be given a chance to liquidate. But there would be no universal concert of greedy voices demanding duties on every importable product. We could conduct our international trade under principles of common sense and good will, applying the support of the government to the fostering of the import as well as the export trade, to shipping as well as to production. Does a majority of the American people realize what an opportunity is presenting itself for the rational ordering of foreign trade? Not yet; but the practical conditions of an era of international reconstruction are pressing new conceptions to the front. And once these new conceptions attain clarity of outline, the conventional protectionist may as well stow his arguments away in the museums, alongside of the arquebuses and catamarans of archaic warfare.

The New Labor Alignment

IN none of the Allied countries did organized labor come so promptly to the support of the government on the declaration of war as did American organized labor. American labor had its grievances, but in the crisis these grievances did not weigh in the balance. President Wilson and his administration were quick to solidify the support of labor by calling its leaders into their counsels and granting them an equal voice in shaping the industrial policy of the government. The cantonments were built under an agreement between Mr. Gompers and Secretary Baker, in which for the first time the government made the trade union standards its own. Organized labor was given coordinate representation, with the government as the employer, on the Shipbuilding Labor Adjustment Board. On the War Labor Board, which became the supreme court of industry, organized labor was equally represented with the employers, and the body of guiding principles adopted by the Board definitely affirmed the right of the worker to organize for democratic participation in determining the conditions of their employment. For the first time in our national history labor was accorded the rights and privileges of a full-fledged estate of the realm.

But this new position rested upon the temporary war powers granted by Congress and the Constitution to the President. The administration's power contravened in many fundamental respects the traditional national policy as interpreted by the Supreme Court. At the very time when the administration was granting organized labor the unrestricted right to organize, the United States Supreme Court in the Hitchman Case was putting that right in chains. The end of the war will end also the administration's specific war powers. The Supreme Court will replace the War Labor Board as labor's ultimate court of appeal. If labor is to retain the enlarged share in the government of industry which it exercised during the war, it will have to look to the benevolence of the organized employers or to its own independent political strength.

It would indeed be an inspiring thing if the employers of America of their own free volition should now give convincing proof of their disinterested devotion to the ideals of democracy by taking the initiative, as certain British employers have done, in establishing joint industrial councils through which the anti-union rulings of the Supreme Court might be waived, the workers might be assured of the continuance of their war-time right to organize, industry might be constitutionalized and democratically governed. But there are few signs that our American employers have experienced so deep a conversion. Rather there are signs of rejoicing among them over the demise of the War Labor Administration with its chafing and restraints. They see the war labor shortage reverting to a glutted labor market—quicksand under the feet of the unions. They have accumulated large war chests with which to humble the pretensions of labor. Instead of a co-equal estate of the realm, they see labor set back to the level of a commodity, long lines of men knocking at the factory gates for jobs, wages tumbling at the inexorable behest of the uncontrolled law of supply and demand. Let the unions rage and their leaders imagine a vain thing—the employers will again be free to run their business without outside interference.

These signs of reaction are leading to a new

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alignment of the forces of labor, are making the more alert among the leaders of organized labor see that they can no longer safely evade responsibility for their aliquot part in moulding public policies through independent political action. What they feared has come true. Throughout the war the ranking leaders of organized labor placed entire reliance upon President Wilson, as they had good reason to do. But the congressional elections have gone against the President. The forces of organized labor, having no banner of their own to follow, scattered their votes in spite of Mr. Gompers's appeal. The old policy of non-partisan political opportunism, so long successfully maintained by Mr. Gompers, has borne bitter fruit. Organized labor sees its war gains threatened with disaster and, having surrendered in advance its political independence, finds its arsenal reduced to the sole weapon of the strike.

From New York to California, state and municipal federations of labor, alarmed lest the strong tide of reaction may sweep the forces of Bolshevism up in its wake, have come out for the assumption by labor of its full share of political responsibility. The Central Federated Union of New York has placed the organization of an independent labor party at the top of its calendar. The state federations of California and Ohio have already promulgated independent labor platforms. Two weeks ago the thousand delegates to the Convention of the Chicago Federation of Labor voted to form an independent labor party to contest, first the municipal, then the state and then the national elections. The platform of the Chicago Federation reveals the spirit and purpose of the new labor alignment. Its first plank insists upon the "unqualified right of the workers to organize." The second calls for the "democratic control of industry and commerce for the general good by those who work with hand and brain, and the elimination of autocratic domination either by selfish private interests or by bureaucratic government"; . . . the ninth, for the "liquidation of the national debt by the application of all inheritances above one hundred thousand dollars, supplemented by a direct capital tax upon all persons and corporations whose riches have been gained by war or other profiteering and payment of current expenses of government by graduated income taxes, public profits from nationally owned utilities and resources and from a system of taxation of land values which will stimulate rather than retard production"; the eleventh, "Complete restoration at the earliest possible moment of all fundamental political rights, free speech, free press and free assemblage. The removal of all war time restraints upon the interchange of ideas and the movement of people among communities and nations. The liberty of all persons held in prison or indicted under charges due to their championship of labor and their patriotic insistence on rights guaranteed them by the Constitution"; the thirteenth, for "representation of the workers in proportion to their numbers in the armies, navies and workshops of the world at the peace conference and upon whatever international tribunal may result therefrom"; and the fourteenth and last, for a "League of Nations and, to make that institution of international democracy vitally effective for humanity, a league of the workers of all nations, pledged and organized to enforce the destruction of autocracy, militarism and economic imperialism throughout the world and to bring about world-wide disarmament and open diplomacy —to the end that there shall be no more kings and no more wars."

Among the American adherents of Toryism, this platform, and the others in New York, Ohio and California that are identical with it in spirit, will be decried as rank Bolshevism; with them every gospel of democratic progress is Bolshevism. As a matter of fact it is a most hopeful sign of the vital sanity of American labor. In America as in England, the strongest bulwark against Bolshevism, the strongest guaranty of a reasoned advance toward economic and industrial democracy, is labor's capacity for independent political action. The British Labor party is giving proof of this capacity. Americans who would have America spared the violence of revolutionary change—the inevitable clash between Junkerism and Bolshevism wherever the door of economic self-government is barred against the wage workers—will pray Godspeed to the forces of organized labor that are finding the courage to realign themselves for independent political action.

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EDITORS
HERBERT CROLY FRANCIS HACKETT
PHILIP LITTELL ALVIN JOHNSON
WALTER E. WEYL
SIGNE TOKSVIG, Assistant Editor

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The Post-War Mind

TO make plans for the future we need knowledge of operating influences. Especially is a knowledge of the distinctively human response to the situation, of the psychological factor, indispensable. This is the more true in the degree in which our civilization becomes democratic. For every democratic advance means a release of fundamental human qualities and an increase in their power and prestige. In a stratified social order human nature is touched only through fixed and few channels. But the weakening of fixed custom and authoritative imposition takes away the bars and leaves human nature open and accessible. It is played upon more widely and freely by surrounding conditions and displays itself more directly and intensely. Any sound estimate of the social future following the war must attach importance to the question of the immediately uppermost human reactions.

The commonest fallacy in predicting what is genially termed the "new era" springs from projecting the psychology characteristic of war time into ensuing days of peace. The first condition of any correct forecast is to note that upon the whole the reactions *from* war are contrary to those which occur *to* war. Instead of carrying over into the future the states of mind which the stress of war evokes, we should ask what states are subdued in war, and forced into the background. For when the constraints of war are removed and when the peculiar eagerness it generates dies from want of nutriment, these subconscious and suppressed tendencies will resume their activity. And quite probably the resumed activities will be so enhanced by their enforced inhibition that, until they have evened things up, they will be the dominant factors. A fair way then to estimate the post-war psychology is to take the spontaneous emotional predictions called out by the pressure of war and reverse them.

Seriousness, determination and constant preoccupation with the future, with what is coming next, mark the human response in war. A great but uncertain issue hangs constantly before the mind, which can dwell neither in yesterday nor, for any length of time, in today. Events are in flux, and the outcome is in suspense. The event which is still to be, the coming defeat or victory, demands attention. The entire attitude is favorable to consideration of coming change. Predictions of readjustments, sweeping changes, flourish spontaneously. For it is some great and final alteration of the face of events to which the mind is attuned. With the let up of war, with the issue determined, the tension relaxes, and the immediate present regains with added force its command. Not the arduous labor of reconstruction but enjoyment of the present, of the gains to be snatched from using the opportunities of pleasure and profit in things as they are, captures the mind. The commercial expansions, the fierce outbursts of "materialistic" money-making that have followed in the immediate wake of most modern wars, are not wholly due to the need of making good the objective losses of war, nor yet wholly to a continuation of the profiteering of war itself. They are in part due to the normal psychology of release from the unnatural strain which war puts upon a human nature, a nature that is capable of infinite heroism upon occasion, but that can no longer sustain the heroic mood when the occasion is past. An Englishman long resident in Japan noted that after the Russo-Japanese war, young men who earlier had had dreams of scholarship, statesmanship and military glory turned eagerly to money-making as the great "sacrifice" which the new condition of the nation exacted of them. This is only an unusually naive expression of the usual reaction from war.

The concentration upon the future characteristic of war inevitably takes on a rosy hue. To admit the prospect of defeat is the beginning of defeat itself. Till the issue is decided, unconquered hope colors expectation with limitless optimism. This expression of the nerving of a people against present evil and threatened disaster outruns the limited portion of time devoted to war and projects into the future the image of a new day, which is to be happy beyond all the experiences of the past. Every great war is to usher in a time of enduring peace; it is to see the establishment of justice, the dawn of a new era. Millennial expectations are not born in times of prosperity. In such days, the absorbing present is good enough. The millennium is the compensatory refuge of immediate distress and imminent evil. But victory generates buoyancy and buoyancy is likely to find a vent in quick satisfactions. The paradise of surrounding milk and honey displaces the new order that has to be labored for. Most of the glowing prophecies of an inevitable social reconstruction to follow the war merely transfer into the peaceful future the reaction peculiar to war. It will be all too easy to go on cultivating our plots on the verge of Vesuvius till a new catastrophe overtakes us.

The tragedy of war also breeds a certain exaltation of mood hailed by sympathetic observers of a literary turn of mind as a religious conversion. We

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have doubtless all heard persons of this type lament that America has not been in the war long enough to experience the intensity of suffering that purchases this elevation of feeling, this spiritual exhilaration, which is sometimes referred to as the priceless boon conferred by the war. It is probably no accident that it was the New York Journal, most unremitting in urging unforgiving hate of the Germans, that met the end of the war with a sigh of regret that we Americans had not been in the war long enough to suffer the full "chastening of calamity." But a sensible judge of human nature would be thankful that humanity had been preserved not only from unnecessary suffering, but also from the abnormal strain involved in what, by protective psychological coloration, is called chastening. Having been saved this extreme, there is the greater hope that we may be saved the extreme of frivolity and reckless pleasure-seeking which is the usual reaction when human nature is too long on the rack. Even as it is, it is likely that the excessive sexual excitation which heroic literary commentators and civilian journalistic moralists overlook will have far more abiding consequences than the much heralded spiritual uplift which fascinates their gaze.

An intelligent English historian who had written shrewdly of the development of political ideals and practices from Metternich to Bismarck, pointing out the non-fulfilment of the high hopes aroused by the defeat of Napoleonic aggression, greeted the present war, when it was but a month or two old, as the opening of a new era. He traced throughout the realm of international relationships, domestic politics, the relation of the sexes, capital and labor —all the spheres of conflict in fact—the substitution of an era of tolerance and good will for one of intolerance and antagonism. Already it is easy to see that he wrote under the influence of that over-emphasis of emotion produced in a people in the first glow of becoming "common servants and common sufferers in the same cause," to quote an English philosopher who celebrated the outbreak of brotherly love which is but the reverse side of fighting. The Russians and Germans who experienced the same sense of unity as the outcome of being banded together have now turned their guns on one another. Fortunately we shall not signalize the return to the ordinary activities of life in the same way. But one is building on the sandiest of foundations who expects much help in dealing with post-war problems, domestic or foreign, from the community of emotional consciousness generated by war. Men will resume the opposition of interests where they laid them down. We may indeed count ourselves lucky if these are not intensified by the truce, by the stirrings of hate and suspicion bred by war, and by the extraordinary and abnormal readjustments that have to be undertaken.

These paragraphs are in no sense a prediction of the future. All attempts at such prophecies are vitiated by the same fact. They may foretell, in the degree of the intelligence of their author, the future so far as that is shaped by forces seen to be working contemporaneously. They omit the effects of some force which is so seemingly slight as to be negligible, but which will in the future modify in the most unpredictable ways all the known forces. Mr. Wells, for example, could prophesy the liberalizing of Russia—that was easy because all modern forces were making autocracies out of date. He could not foresee Bolshevism and the subtle ferment it would introduce into all the otherwise calculable factors. In this sense the weak things will always confound the mighty—the future will be determined by the coming event which at the given moment is still so nascent as to escape detection. I am not, then attempting to tell what is going to happen; nor to play the part of one who predicts that the hopes of a new era are doomed to disappointment.

But it is important to know what we can count on and what will surely elude us. So far as our expectation of a happier future is based upon projecting into the future the conscious states characteristic of war, it *is* doomed. And in large measure it is fortunate that such is the case. For I have said nothing about the uglier reactions of war—fear and its twin, hate. These unhappily are more enduring than most of the emotions mentioned. They are not so much conscious states, superficial and transitory, as attitudes of will, of action, which eat their way into permanent disposition. But even these things pass when persistently confronted by objective conditions. The embittered missionaries of a permanent vengeful punishment and cultivated hatred of Germany should be compelled to retire and undergo a period of historical study. The transfer of international ill will and friendliness as respects England, France and Germany would form an illuminating lesson. But the sequel of our Civil War, the consequences of the "reconstruction" imposed by distrust and hate and the story of the persistence of its bad effects long after the inevitable emotional reconciliation occurred might alone suffice to teach a much needed truth.

To state some of the human reactions from war is not to predict. It is merely to analyze what already exists—human nature. Such an analysis may, however, assist in planning for the future. For it warns us against trusting to the emotions to do a work which only the most laborious and faithful intelligence can accomplish. It will warn us,

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with respect to our enemies, from planning a future based on suspicion and hostility. It will warn us, in the infinitely complex problems of domestic readjustment, from trusting to the vague aspirations and protective hopefulness produced in wartime. It will teach us that reliance upon such undisciplined desires is one of the chief reasons why the course of events has in the past frustrated the ardent hopes of men in the great crises of human history. It will suggest dependence upon the homelier and less exciting work of an intelligence which resolves problems into their detailed elements and which contrives piecemeal and patiently for their solution.

JOHN DEWEY.

Buffer Employment

BY "buffer employment" is meant employment which absorbs the shock and jar of bad times, employment which quietly takes on men at a time when otherwise they would be tramping the streets looking for jobs and releases them as soon as they are able to find other work at better wages. It is a method devised to lessen unemployment. The greater the impending unemployment the greater the necessity for a well planned system of buffer jobs.

Just how much unemployment we may expect in the United States will depend upon what wisdom we show at the last hour. The armistice came upon us suddenly like a chill after a great heat. We were violently straining our resources and expanding our energies when in an instant peace came.

Today we are forced to demobilize the men in the camps. It would be dangerous not to demobilize them now that the exalted mood has passed and the men have no hope of going to France. We shall either demobilize or demoralize our soldiers. Simultaneously contracts for war supplies are being cancelled and must be cancelled. Not to cancel them means uselessly to waste capital, credit, transportation and raw materials which, sooner or later, must be used to re-employ men in non-war industries. We should cancel these contracts gradually and scientifically, with a maximum of warning to discharged men, and with a plan for placing these discharged men in other industries, at the same time insuring them against privation and loss. We may cancel these contracts and make the transition well or clumsily. If we do it well there will be some unemployment; if we do it clumsily there will be a great deal.

Seasonably the war comes to its end at a most unpropitious time. Had the war ended in the month of April, as did our Civil War, millions of soldiers and war workers might have been released for the spring planting and Europe would not have been forced to make the transition from a war famine to a peace famine. The whole disbandment of the army would have been easier. Spring and summer are the seasons of maximum employment, winter is the season of minimum employment. In winter there is little building, less farm work and almost no labor on the public roads. To an extent industry hibernates. Between today and April 1st, 1919, we are threatened with an unemployment crisis, great or small, but likely to be more severe than had the fighting ceased a few months later.

The impending unemployment will be due in the main to two causes, maladjustment and the inevitable slowness of transition. If thirty million jobs were offered to thirty million qualified workers there would still be unemployment because the job could not always find the man or the man the job, and further because some localities and some trades would show an excess of demand for labor and others an excess of supply. Our chief difficulty, however, will arise from a temporary shortage of jobs. We are faced with the problem of placing an increased number of wage-earners in a diminished industry. We have conscripted new millions of industrial workers, men, women, men of independent means, the semi-employed, the semi-employables. In certain industries and operations requiring a moderate degree of skill we have enormously expanded the number of men and women capable of holding jobs. We have simultaneously reduced the number of these jobs. It will take some time to go back to our old organization. If you convert a typewriter factory into an establishment for making high explosive shells you cannot immediately resume the manufacture of typewriters. Nor are you sure of your market. Many Americans want typewriters as they want houses, steel rails, copper wire, cheese cloth and chemicals, but it does not follow that they want them at present prices or that they can afford to buy at those prices. A man will hesitate to build a new house for ten thousand dollars if he is reasonably certain that by waiting a year he can build a better house for eight thousand. Consumption goods, food, clothing, shoes, etc., must be bought whatever the price, but production goods, factories, railroads, machinery, are less likely to be bought on a falling market. We all want many things that we shall not offer to buy immediately. Economic demand is not the same thing as desire; it is desire plus a

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willingness and an ability to pay a certain price.

Such unemployment as befalls us, whether it be large or small, means more depression, a lessening of the power to buy, a lessening of the demand for goods and therefore for labor, and, as a consequence, more unemployment. After a while the whole economic system readjusts itself. A new demand arises, the prospect of profits becomes greater, industrial pessimism gives way to optimism and the whole vicious circle, unemployment, non-consumption, unemployment, is broken. Perhaps the now threatened depression will be shorter than usual and American industry within six or twelve months will launch out into new activity. In the meanwhile, however, men hunger, worry, suffer, go to pieces. The moral fatalities alone are innumerable.

Serious men have carefully studied and analyzed these depressions and their accompanying unemployment and have come to the conclusion that they can be foretold and, to an extent, prevented or minimized. Professor Wesley Mitchell, among others, has conclusively demonstrated that there are cycles of business activity and inactivity, a rhythm resembling the loose, irregular rhythm of prose rather than the more rigid and formal rhythm of poetry. The problem, as Professor Mitchell sees it, is to stabilize industry, to establish a more consistent and uniform tempo, to draw on the good years to eke out the bad. The principle is as old as Pharaoh. Equalize demand; use your fat cells in periods of sickness; have the lean kine eat up the fat kine; let industrial society maintain an equal temperature instead of alternating between chills and fever.

The whole situation is absurd enough to justify any number of metaphors. What would a rational Martian think as he looked at our stupid oscillation between periods of corpulency and unnatural attenuation? Why do we industrially glut ourselves after we are already overfed and then resign ourselves to a period of starvation? In such matters we have the foresight of a boa-constrictor without his excuse. For he has no control over his food supply, whereas we can control both food and work. At least we could if we thought and acted as a nation instead of a million sightless autonomous units.

The obvious thing to do is to prepare in prosperity for adversity. It was this proposal which Mr. William Hard eloquently advocated some years ago in a brilliant magazine article entitled, Big Jobs for Bad Times. Mr. Hard proposed, what had often been suggested before, that in good times the federal, state and municipal governments elaborate plans and vote money for large public works to be begun at the first sign of a depression. Instead of building roads, aqueducts, arsenals and docks, when labor and capital are in excessive demand, build them when the demand for labor and capital is weak.

A million people read this article; a million people shook a million heads and gravely said, How true! A thousand of the million said, Let's do something. A hundred of the thousand tried to do something and then got side-tracked, ran for Congress, went into the army or became adepts at bridge. I know of only one man (though I may be unjust to others) who kept on thinking and working on the subject and who is still thinking and working on it.

The name of this tenacious man is Otto Mallery, of Philadelphia. Partly at his instance the State of Pennsylvania in 1917 passed an act creating an Emergency Public Works Fund and established an Emergency Public Works Commission. The legislature voted a small appropriation to serve as a nucleus for a larger sum, to be devoted to public works in bad times, and by a recent amendment to the state constitution the legislature was empowered to borrow fifty million dollars for the construction of roads. As a consequence Pennsylvania is now in a position to undertake large enterprises and thus lessen unemployment and ease the transition from a war to a peace basis of industry.

Today the War Labor Policies Board of the United States Department of Labor, again at the suggestion of Mr. Mallery to whom the work has been assigned, is urging the various states and cities to adopt the Pennsylvania system. Bills similar to the Pennsylvania law are being prepared for introduction into the legislatures of several states and special appropriations and bond issues are being sought in states and cities. The field is extensive. The average expenditure in the United States for public works is estimated at not less than six hundred million dollars a year, and a very large part of this work, which would normally have been done in 1917 and 1918, has been postponed owing to the lack of raw material, the absence of labor and the scarcity of capital. "It is a safe estimate," writes Mr. Mallery, "that the amount of Public Works deferred during the war period of 1917 and 1918 plus the ordinary new Public Works for 1919, would employ 2,400,000 workers for three months at average wages."

Nor does this nearly exhaust the possibilities of useful public work that can be carried forward in the present emergency. The Department of the Interior is working upon a plan to create farms for returned soldiers. The Department could profitably employ half a million men to reclaim cut-over and swamp lands and develop new irrigation projects. Still other work presses. The Highway

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Transportation Committee of the Council of National Defense is about to ask for a federal appropriation of a hundred million dollars for highway construction. The harbors of New York, Philadelphia and other great ports require vast expenditures of labor; and flood prevention, on the lower Mississippi, the Miami and many other rivers, could profitably be planned and begun at this time. For all this an unhurrying speed is necessary. If the emergency work is to achieve its purpose, two conditions must be met: the work must be planned and it must be carried out in time.

It must be planned because otherwise it will be ill-considered and wasteful. Too many projects will be begun and none finished. The projects will trench too sharply upon the supply of capital and credit which must be eventually devoted to other enterprises, public and private. All these evils, as well as a general inefficiency, can be avoided by carefully adjusting the plans of the federal, state and municipal governments to prevent excessive overlapping and to approximate a single policy. On the other hand planning and performance must be rapidly carried through. Otherwise we shall have commissions deliberating and dawdling until the evil has been done and the whole jug spilt. Our usual experience has been that each successive and loudly acclaimed Unemployment Commission gives advice to a future generation but no aid to its own. Is it too much to ask in this present emergency that we plan before we act and act in time?

WALTER WEYL.

On Dandyism

JULES BARBEY D'AUREVILLY, who was born in 1808 and died in 1889, was not only a writer of formidable and malignant and diabolical genius, but the last of the dandies. They called him in Paris "le Duc de Guise de la littérature"; and I heard many tragic stories in regard to him when I was in Paris from Mary Robinson, then Madame Jules Darmsteter; who found in him the imperfection of old age and a courtesy that remained unchanged. She told me how many steep stairs she had to climb, to find him seated, even then superbly, in his arm-chair, beside his books.

I have before me as I write his Du Dandysme et de G. Brummell, Paris, Poulet-Malassis 1862, a book written in his most original and amusing style; in fact the best book ever written on that subject of almost universal appeal. I have also before me George Meredith's magnificent and tragic and pathetic Tale of Chloe, in which Beau Beamish is a modern interpretation of Beau Brummell. He evokes the period, the characters, the wit, the coarseness of conversation, the over politeness and over superficiality of those courtly creatures, as no one ever did; the very heat and atmosphere of the Wells. But as for delicious and deceived Chloe's end, I have never read anything that gives one such a thrill. In love's despair she hangs herself—in fact to save her reputation and that of the Duchess Susan—who, distinguishing what seems to be a depending bulk against a door, touched it, pinched, plucked at the thing, ready to laugh, ready to shriek. "She pulled it to release herself from it, desperately she pulled, and a lump descended, and a flash of all the torn nerves of her body told her that a dead body was upon her."

Vanity is the foundation of dandyism, and the first dandy who was not in the real sense a dandy was the Duke de Richelieu, "un grand seigneur dans une aristocratie expirante," who can be compared with Byron. As for Brummell, deprive him of the title and what remains of him? "Il n'était propre à rien de plus, mais aussi rien de moins que le plus grand Dandy de son temps et de tous les temps." Brummell, to whom the phrase of Machiavelli can be applied, "the world belongs to cold spirits," made an easy conquest of the Prince of Wales—as simple as a woman's conquest. In spite of the fascination he had over women he was not a woman hunter; he despised the sex that adored him. He possessed, supremely, Irony. "Elle jette sur l'homme l'air du sphynx qui préoccupe comme un mystère et qui inquiète comme un danger." And, as Baudelaire, who in his time was also an impeccable dandy, he loved to astonish people rather than to please them. His words crucified.

Barbey refers to Count d'Orsay, a fashionable lion, a man of a complex character, nervous and sanguine, with the kind of beauty that Francis the First had, even in the perfection of his hands, and who had the passion of making others passionate. He uttered one superb phrase: "Les Dandys, eux, ne sont aimés que par *spasmes*." He had the art of dressing, but with none of the pomp of Brummell; and therefore he is in no sense the successor of that dandy: for dandyism is not the brutal art of putting on a cravat.

Beau Brummell, the "sublime dandy," the ornament and leader of society, of humble birth, was by some fascinating force of his own, admitted to the Court, and became a friend of "old Q," of Lord Onslow, of Fox and of Sheridan. Ranelagh, Vauxhall, the Pantheon, the Opera, Almack's balls, were thronged with rouged grandes dames and painted ladies; and it was into this wild and whirling society that Brummell came with a steady head, a determined idea, a calm contemptuousness, a calculated effrontery. He had the rude English self-

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assertion, the adventurer's insolence of Casanova, his irresistible brutality, though it was exercised for other purposes.

His taste in dress was original, but not extravagant; his method was the true one, to simplify until you have reached the point of perfection, and to remain there. His final choice, the famous blue coat, was a model of elegance and discretion. He wore his hair short, and did not powder it. "He was king of fashion, and reigned as an absolute monarch; he changed custom at will and pleasure." He tied his own stocks, with a dexterity that had the careless certainty of instinct, in that "incomparable knot which was to remain famous in the annals of British fashion."

The dandy, said Barbey d'Aurevilly, "gave pleasure by means of his person as others give pleasure by means of their works. His value consisted in himself." No better definition has been made; and it may be added that dandyism is a form of ambition, as well as an intense personal pleasure. Even a thing trivial in itself, done to perfection, has its justification. But the dandy was not a trivial person: he was a force in society. He had nothing to do but to impress his unique importance upon idle and serviceable people. He passed through their midst like a stranger of some superior kind, really outdoing them in one of their strictest occupations: the art of dressing. Being a man, he is an anomaly, and his appeal is to both sexes. He has an indifference, an aloofness, a disdain which is part of the method by which he must succeed.

It is a deplorable fact but the reign of the dandy is over. He died with Barbey d'Aurevilly, who had other interests and occupations than his cravats and laces, and was rather an amateur than a practitioner in the art. The cause, or a large part of it, is the degeneration of costume. A man can be well dressed, in the afternoon if not in the evening, when the mode leaves only an inch of choice here and there between one curve or another. But variety and elegance have gone wholly out of the best-cut coat, the more carefully calculated trousers. With knee-breeches and silk stockings and buckled shoes went every incitement to dress personally and to outdo others in what was not a fixed fashion. What form or substance of things could a dandy, in these days, find to work upon? The tying of a white linen tie is no longer an art; the stock, with its dignity, has given place to the high, hideous, shining and uncomfortable starched collar. And the dullness of the things that men wear—the shapeless black funnel with its inch of irrelevant brim which we cram discomfortably on our heads! What dandy dare make himself conspicuous by even the extension of a brim, or the loosening of those bandages of cloth which wrap our body with a graceless rigidity?

Ours is the only age in which a man is obliged to wear ugly and unsuitable clothes—a civilized man, that is, for whoever has once seen an Arab, in his incomparably graceful burnous and white folds about the head, will realize that dignity and beauty of costume have not yet gone wholly out of the world. There we have a natural beauty which no civilized garb has ever allowed us. Yet, in what age but ours were there not possibilities of personal decoration? In losing the lesson of the dandy we have lost much. He was the pattern of his age, and we find the most eminent type of dandyism saying of the Regent: "I have made him what he is, and I can therefore unmake him." Which, for the moment, he did.

With Brummell dandyism was a ruling passion, which in his later deranged years passed into an obsession. A pathetic story of ruined greatness is that of the exile at Calais, penniless and extravagant, buying seventeenth-century furniture, Sèvres china, snuff-boxes, Chinese cabinets; borrowing without thanks and without repayment; entertaining English dukes and lords at sumptuous banquets which they paid for, with due formality, as a matter of course.

It was the death of an artist who had conquered almost to the end. His end was heroic; it proved his sincerity. He had lived for an idea, and even a bewildered brain could not abandon that idea. Why were all his friends so true to him, while he seemed scarcely conscious of their kindness, too much aloof to express his gratitude, accepting everything as a matter of course? It was the fixed idea, the consciousness of his power, the adoration of himself, that gave him his tranquillity. He saw nothing beyond himself—no art is more personal, more persuasive, more public in renown than the courtly art of the dandy. That he achieved, more than any one before him or after him, and his name has remained the chief symbol of his art.

ARTHUR SYMONS.

End of the Trail

In these hidden hills
I lie by pools of silence where the cry
Of bird comes never—
So deep is the calm
And dim lost lake of dreams whereby I wait.
Here I am free;
The wolves of the world cry out on the plain;
Only a stone dropt from the age-worn cliff
Marks one hour from the next.
And none shall know whether this secret place
Is near or far, nor tell aught from my face
When I return with strong soul and unvexed.

BRIAN PADRAIC O'SEASNAIN.

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Willard D. Straight

ON December 1st at 12:45 A. M. Major Willard Dickerman Straight died in Paris from influenza-pneumonia. He had been sent to France almost a year ago in order to organize for the A. E. F. the work of the War Risk Insurance Bureau. After completing this task quickly and with the utmost efficiency he entered the Staff College from which he graduated among the first in his class. Since his graduation last May he saw a good deal of desultory service at the front, he worked with the staffs of several army corps and had been designated during the few weeks preceding the armistice as one of the American officers at the headquarters of Marshal Foch. After the signature of the armistice he was detailed to the mission of Colonel House in Paris, and it was while performing this final work that he was stricken with an attack of influenza which quickly developed into pneumonia.

The recital of these facts does small justice to the underlying truth about Major Straight's service in the army just as the external facts of his whole life afford wholly insufficient indications of his qualities as a man. There was no officer in the American Expeditionary Force who brought to his work as soldier a keener and more indefatigable mental energy, a more ardent determination to be of use to his country, or a higher and more disinterested standard of public service. He was not fortunate enough to be assigned to specific jobs which brought his full energy and his abilities into bearing. Like so many other officers, his head was seething with projects and ambitions which there was no opportunity to realize during the few months of active American military operations. And in this respect again his brief military career reflected in general the nature and quality of his previous career in civil life. Major Straight was essentially a pioneer and forerunner, who did not live long enough to impose the ideas and plans which he conceived with so much fertility upon a laggard world.

The ideas and plans in which he was most ardently interested were born of his early residence in China. Shortly after graduating from Cornell he entered the Imperial Chinese Customs Service and for the next ten years he was chiefly interested in promoting the economic and industrial development of the Far East. During those years he served as American Consul General at Mukden, and as correspondent during the Russo-Japanese war, but such service was incidental. All his work culminated some years later in the attempt to interest American capital in the opening up of China. As a result chiefly of his initiative, a group of American bankers with J. P. Morgan & Co. at its head did agree to cooperate with groups of European bankers in lending money to build Chinese railroads and open up the material resources of the country. The plan ultimately came to nothing, because the opposition of the American government forced the American bankers to withdraw. Later Major Straight ceased his association with J. P. Morgan & Co. and became one of the Vice-Presidents of the American International Corporation, in whose service he remained until America entered the war, when he enlisted almost immediately.

Although Willard Straight did not succeed in carrying through the plans for the development of China to which he gave so many years of his life, the failure was due chiefly to the appearance of unexpected obstacles both in his own country and in China. He was one of the large number of Englishmen and Americans whom an adventurous disposition have taken to Africa and Asia during their youth, and who have been fired with the idea of extending over these backward regions the influence of their own country. It was in this sense that he was a pioneer, and he was just as truly a pioneer as were the Americans who led the march across the American continent until the shores of the Pacific were reached. But a forerunner, who was seeking to extend American influence in China during the first decade of the twentieth century was confronted with a task very different from that of his predecessors in the middle of the nineteenth century. Large capital investments and government support had become necessary, and the need of obtaining such assistance subjected these later pioneering enterprises to obstacles which no amount of individual initiative and energy and imagination was sufficient to subdue.

But although Willard Straight did not succeed as much as he hoped in extending American influence in China, he possessed in full measure the very best qualities of the American pioneer explorer. He placed great energy and courage at the service of a restless and fertile imagination. He was keenly interested in the welfare of China and wished to make the economic development of that country the means of liberating the Chinese people from political and social servitude. The long years which he passed in the Far East away from America during the most impressionable part of his young manhood gave a romantic intensity to his feeling for his own country. When he returned to live in

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the United States his Americanism proved its quality by becoming progressive, but his progressivism was never satisfied by repeating the current phrases of the progressive movement. He conceived Americanism chiefly as the progressive realization of a democratic idea, and he depended chiefly on a process of social education for the needed fulfilment.

In temperament he was a man of action, who was unhappy unless he was able to find immediate practical expression for his flood of ideas and projects, but he was a man of action with insight and vision. He did not merely use his energy and ability in outdistancing the ordinary man in doing the ordinary thing. In all his activities he was above all an innovator, but an innovator who placed at the service of his innovations a cool and steady judgment. Impatient and impulsive he was at times, but his impatience rarely betrayed him. He was never so self-possessed and so keen as when he was under fire. Like many pioneers his bearing and methods were direct and forceful. Yet the directness was only the outer edge of an extraordinary kind and sympathetic disposition. There has rarely been a man more generous in his attitude towards other people.

His life consisted fundamentally in a group of human relationships, and it was fulfilled chiefly in the personal loyalties which these human relationships brought with them. There was warmth in his heart; there was light in his eyes; there was direction and stability in his underlying purposes. During his brief life he did not achieve as much as his qualities entitled him to achieve, but he did achieve the confidence and the affection of those who knew him best to an extent which must surely constitute the final test and vindication of a man's life.

The Crisis Among the Allies

Postscript to Mr. Kallen's book on the League of Nations shortly to be issued by the Marshall Jones Co., Boston.

THE Central Powers have collapsed and with their collapse has come revolution, socialistic revolution. The peoples have, as was foretold, set themselves free of their masters in Bulgaria, in Austria-Hungary, in Germany. The masters are in flight or in exile and the present governments of these states have agreed to armistices which put it beyond their power to resume battle. The armies of the United States and of the Allies are to occupy the left bank of the Rhine, and perhaps the new states between the Central Powers and Soviet Russia. They are waging a more or less desultory and unsuccessful warfare in Siberia and in Murmansk.

That the collapse of Germany at this time was anticipated is everywhere denied. Military critics in England, France, Italy and the United States are agreed that the German army, though defeated, was intact, and all expressed the opinion that the war could not be finished before the spring of 1919. The German collapse caught all who are concerned, from whatever angle, about the destinies of mankind, unprepared. But particularly it caught the lovers of democracy unprepared. It rendered nugatory the demand for a preliminary and public conference of the Allies and the United States for the purpose of establishing unity of political front in the matter of peace terms. The German government's unconditional acceptance of the terms in Mr. Wilson's speech of January 8, and in his subsequent speeches, particularly that of September 27, imposed a certain degree of unity from without, a unity which the President of the United States has announced and emphasized in his address to Congress on the terms of armistice, but it has also been made clear that "the freedom of the seas," as defined in the speech of January 8, has not been accepted by the Allies, and that the other thirteen are subject to interpretation. The probability of very sharp differences of opinion, of division of counsel and conflict of purpose between the democratic associates in the war against the Central Powers has been obviated, but only a little. The democratic control of the representatives of the nation at the peace table, on the other hand, has been rendered impossible. The representatives will be appointed, not elected, and the men and women whose fates it will be their task to determine will have nothing to say as to who they shall be. Even the openness of the "covenants of peace" has become seriously compromised, and the rôle of the armies of the United States and the Allies in Russia and in Central Europe is a matter of concern. Armageddon has by the collapse of Germany been transferred from the battlefield to the peace table. A crisis, subterraneanly *in actu,* is imminent in the open, among the Allies.

This crisis looks back to conditions that obtained prior to the war. The conditions were of enmities and rivalries which the necessity of facing a powerful and unscrupulous foe forced into the background and repressed, replacing it with the adventitious and imposed unity of the common military and economic endeavor. Now that the cause of this external unity has been destroyed, the enmities and rivalries it repressed begin to reassert themselves, the stronger and more violent for their repression. Of these the foremost in extent and import is the struggle of the classes, the struggle between labor and capital in industry, between peasant and landlord in agriculture. Over the continent of Europe, from Holland to Russia, from Finland to Bulgaria, this struggle had gone on, with varying fortunes, for a generation. The masters of Germany are said to have precipitated the foreign war in order to escape a civil war. So far as their own destinies are concerned, they have failed. Over the continent of Europe thrones have fallen, the rank and file of mankind have taken their sovereignty back to themselves. The democracy they seek to establish is not merely political, it is industrial and social. It is a very different democracy from that which opposed the Central Powers. It is a powerful and widespread aspiration of the great rank and file of that democracy, of

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the masses in shop and field, in mine and factory, whose self-surrender and devotion alone made the winning of the war inevitable. The specific and concrete expression of this aspiration is the programme of the British Labor party, the programme of the Inter-Allied Labor and Socialist Conference. Failure at the peace table to meet the conditions of this programme will not improbably turn the watchful discontent of the workers and soldiers in France and England and Italy into action that may become revolution.

Failure to meet it is likely if the financial interests of the bankers of England, France and Italy are permitted to define the peace as a compromise in the division of the spoils. That these interests have secretly made their own terms, which they will seek to enforce, is hardly to be questioned. For a century wars have ended with peace terms made in the interests of landlords or investors. To a large degree the war just over was precipitated by the conflict of such interests—conflicts over loans, concessions, spheres of influence, colonies and protectorates. Behind these conflicts is a greed with which the masses of men have no concern; the greed of the frank "sacred egotism" of the imperialists of Italy, which has kept still unsettled the disputes between them and the new Slavic states over Dalmatia and the Adriatic; the greed of the secret treaty of 1915 between France and England over the division of Syria; the greed of bankers for the insurance with the blood and treasure of nations of their loans to the Tsarist government of Russia; and other greeds for the gratification of which the old diplomacy was perfected and competitive armament vigorously maintained. The men in whose souls is this greed are everywhere closer to the agencies of government than the lovers of justice. Their influence upon those agencies in the making of peace is axiomatic, and the kind of peace they suppose themselves by the nature of their "interests" to be compelled to seek is one which will at the same time weaken possible rivals abroad and firmly establish reaction at home.

Prior to the war, men of this class have in the United States been few in number and weak in influence. The Monroe Doctrine and the traditional policy of the American government toward the insurance by public force of private investments abroad were factors hindering their development. The fact that the United States has itself for the most part been an undeveloped country with enormous natural resources was another of far greater importance. It was the determining element in the effectiveness of the Monroe Doctrine and the fundamental cause of the economic development and social nature of the American polity. It made of the United States a debtor country; a country, that is, with insufficient capital to develop its own resources; a country, therefore, which had to import capital, and to seduce it from abroad by the enticement of large profits. In comparison with most of Europe, outside of Russia, the United States is still an undeveloped country, thinly populated, offering wealth and station to anyone willing to risk the adventure of fighting for them. The United States lures, therefore, men as well as money. Emigration from Europe to America has been far greater than to any other undeveloped country. The degree of social instability, of flux and change, has been correspondingly greater also. There is no caste system in America. There are classes, of course, because society must stratify to be workable, but the formations and memberships in these classes are not stable. American society exhibits an infinite deal of snobbery precisely for this reason. As there are no differences and distinctions that are being always taken for granted, as in Europe, numerous ones are constantly being made. Men and women do not accept their status as from birth. Native and immigrant alike are always hustling to "pull down" earnings and "get on." This getting, activist, hustling quality is so fundamental as to determine the American idiom: Men are not by nature good, they "make good"; they do not "stand" for Parliament, they "run" for Congress; they are "comers" with whom there's always "something doing." The quality is the quality of a pronounced individualism, and individualism seems to be characteristic of those countries which have not yet attained economic equilibrium, in the sense that population and resources balance each other, whether naturally and justly or artificially, and surpluses of men or money can find no soil at home to grow in and must emigrate. Individualism and social fluidity go together. They determine the policies of labor even as of capital, and endow them with an identical intent.

This is why "labor" in America has been called capitalistic and seems to be so backward in organization and purpose. Its members do not feel themselves to be stably of the laboring class. Nor, as yet, can they. There does not exist in America a labor organization which does not contain large numbers of men who hope to move from the status of laborer to the status of employer, and they have numerous examples of such a progression before their eyes. Labor unions and manufacturers' associations are morally on a par. Both are recruited of a changing personnel concerned only about "getting on." The only class in the United States which approaches the stability of the social classes in Europe is the class of educated or half-educated intellectuals, living on salaries—the class of the clerk, the bookkeeper, the clergyman, the public school teacher, the engineer's draftsman, the professor, the social worker, the journalist. It is significant that the liberal movements in politics—the Progressive movement, so admirably done to death by Mr. Roosevelt; the still-born National party, the Socialist movement, are mostly largely recruited and led by members of this class. It is equally significant that neither labor nor capital trusts it nor will make alliance with it; both Mr. Gompers and Mr. Lodge have spoken their decided disapproval of it and all its works. It is the class, incidentally, that has served more than any other, and more effectively, to bring the United States into the war for the sake of democratic ideals.

In all these respects Europe—England is nearest to us—is almost the precise opposite of the United States. The working class is static; the upper classes are static. It is the intellectual class which is fluid, its members attaching themselves easily now to the workers, now to the rulers. In England, indeed, the fighting force of the Labor party has been largely gained from the infiltration of intellectuals.

An effect of the war has been to modify these relative positions in many respects. The needs of Europe which America served created a great indebtedness, which Europe largely liquidated by the transfer of American securities to American hands. Enormous French and English and other holdings of American bonds and stocks have been reduced to a minimum. Two-thirds of the world's gold reserve is in American banks. The United States has changed in four swift years from a debtor to a creditor country; the world's financial capital has shifted from London to New York. In the same period the incidence and degree of the "balance of trade" has changed, not only in relation to the democratic belligerents, but also to South America and Asia and Africa. The German submarine campaign has compelled the creation of a shipping policy that converts

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American shipping into a powerful rival of the English, and the needs of reconstruction are more than likely to restrict the handicaps of this rivalry to the English. In consequence of these changes there have been created great financial organizations designed "to put America on the map" in the matter of the export of capital for investment in undeveloped countries in loans, concessions, and so on, with the necessary concomitants at home of programmes of heavy armaments and universal military service. Other organizations have been formed to exploit and develop the commercial advantages gained at the expense of our associates during the war, and still others are prepared to carry the United States into direct competition with England in the matter of shipping. The interests here involved assert themselves forcibly, and their power at the peace table may not be questioned. Even if they are without direct representation among the delegates of the United States, they will be well represented wherever financial imperialism is represented. The operation of the nuncios of such interests from other countries may compel defense of their counterparts by the emissaries of this. Their power over the agencies of public opinion, moreover, is notorious.

On the other hand, the interesting administration of the Espionage act has immensely weakened, if not paralyzed, the forces of liberalism that might effectively have opposed this imperialism. To substitute for the persistent individualism of our national life national unity for the conduct of the war, the constitutional rights of men were suspended. Power over their utterances on the platform or in the press fell into the hands of irresponsible and often not disinterested persons. Reflective and liberal opinion was distrusted by the government, and howled down and silenced by a patrioteering press, the same press, notably, that is now devoting itself so assiduously to denouncing and undermining—not, presumably, altogether of its own initiative—the policies which led America into the war. Nor was only reflective and liberal opinion distrusted. Labor was distrusted. Instead of a fundamental movement toward industrial democracy, such as took place in England and brought the whole heart of English labor into the winning of the war, a system of industrial paternalism was worked out, and labor was drugged with awards of wages and hours and conditions into a prosperity unregarding of fundamentals for both war and peace. The result is that labor is, intellectually and as an organization, no farther advanced than it was before the beginning of the war. It has received much but has won nothing. At the peace table it is as likely to stand with tariff-mongers and financial imperialists as with liberalism. The same thing is true in all other matters. The silencing of liberalism had no doubt facilitated the achievement without too sharp a challenge by reaction of a number of things liberals advocate, things such as the nationalization of railroads, telegraph and telephone lines, express service, and so on. But in these as in the matter of labor, paternalism has been substituted for the normal processes of democracy. Opposition has been carefully repressed, not destroyed. Unity has been only apparent, not real. The country has been liberal by executive order, not by the force of public opinion. With the result that there is a political crisis in America, a crisis in which the Executive finds itself with an opposing legislature and no efficacious public instrumentalities ready to bring this legislature to reason. Face to face with peace, the conflicts existing before the war and repressed by its coming manifest themselves over a wider extent and more bitterly, with the liberals on whom the Executive must depend at a decided disadvantage. It is under these conditions that the Executive of the United States goes to the peace table.

Over this table will loom a gigantic and fearful spectre. The dictators of public opinion have decreed that this spectre shall be called "Bolshevism." When Napoleon had been crushed in 1815 as the Hohenzollern was cut off in 1918, there was a looming spectre over the peace table at Vienna. The spectre was then called Democracy. The Bolshevism of 1918 bears the same relation to the peace of 1918 that the Democracy of 1815 bore to the peace of 1815. The one is the direct descendant of the other. If war is not to be followed by social revolution all over Europe, it is necessary that "Bolshevism"—which is only an ugly way of saying the disagreeable "Socialism" and the less disagreeable "Industrial Democracy"—shall be understood and reasoned with, not denounced and persecuted. Right-minded men know that proper treatment immediately converts the spectre of disorder into the spirit of freedom.

Which it shall be will depend entirely on how the problems of the construction of peace are faced—whether in the manner of the Holy Alliance or in the temper of the true democratic League of Nations. This, again, will depend on which of three groups of interests dominates the peace conference.

These three groups could be distinguished throughout the war in all the countries of Europe. One is the kinship of the rank and file that fights wars, that *is* war, without whose supreme sacrifice no war can be made. It is the aggregation of the "plain people" to whose demands of the governments of Europe to state their peace terms the President of the United States referred in his great address of September 27. The voice of this group is the Inter-Allied Labor and Socialist Conference. Its spontaneously adopted leader is Woodrow Wilson. In all the lands of the Alliance it has surrendered its all to the cause—its sons to battle, its hard-won and hardly-defended rights of labor to efficiency, its liberty to unity, its future—to the governments that have pledged it safety and opportunity and freedom as the reward of victory.

Another group was first and last financial and imperialist. It was concerned only with the security and expansion of its investments. It was eager to insure the high returns on loans to Russia and concessions in China and Syria and colonies in Africa to the point of utterly destroying all rivalry. From this group came the bitter-enders, the *jusqu 'au boutistes,* the avengers and punishers, self-dedicated to the destruction of all competition, not at home or in Europe, truly, but in Middle Africa and Syria and China.

The third group was of the same order as the second. The interest which is its soul is, however, a much more venerable one, and its affiliations in the structure and dominances of European societies are much more complicated. It sees more truly and more deeply than the second group, and it is afraid, dangerously afraid. It sees that what has been an issue in the war and remains even more fearfully an issue for the peace is no mere victory for concessions or colonies or spheres of influence, is none of the tawdry aspirations of imperialism, whether in feudal and cultural garb, as in Germany, or nakedly financial, as in France or England or Italy. It saw at issue in the war the very structure of society, by whose ordering it held the privileged mastership of mankind. It was and remains afraid of the destruction of this satisfactory structure. Its most conspicuous voice has been Lord Lansdowne. It is the source of the most potent defeatist propaganda conducted among the Allies, both in financial circles and in the world of labor. In the latter there has been doubt about the purposes of governments, but never defeatism. Defeatism, the record

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indicates, was a capitalistic-feudal ideal, an aspiration not of men but of masters anxious over their prerogatives in the institutions of civilization.

The two latter groups stand over against the first group. Their interests are opposed beyond any reconciliation. There cannot be arranged between them a peace without victory which shall at the same time be just and lasting.

For this reason there is a crisis also among the Allies which at the peace table will be assuaged or be converted into revolution.

Orderly growth in prosperity and freedom or revolution! Whether the one will come or the other will depend largely on the side which America favors at the peace table. Free from the "entangling alliances" of secret treaties, prosperous through the misfortunes of her associates beyond the dreams of finance, the making or breaking of Europe rests with the United States. From the United States will need to come a great proportion of the treasure necessary for the restoration of France and Belgium and Serbia and Palestine. From the United States will need to come for many years the food and the materials, raw and finished, essential to the restoration of the normalities of Europe. And they will have to be carried in American bottoms. If the American delegates at the peace conference take their cues from the European imperialists, they will have to drive sharp bargains, and the League of Nations they will create will be a Holy Alliance for the exploitation of the world, an unstable alliance with a chafing and reproachful England, a recalcitrant France and a sullen Japan. The choice will be with them because the power is with them.

If the American delegates take their cue from the imperialists, the decision is not unlikely to be for "orderly," that is, reactionary and even monarchial intervention in Russia on a large scale in order to reestablish "order"; the "self-determination of peoples" will be a hypocrisy, and Mr. Bertrand Russell's prediction that American troops may be used to shoot down European strikers may come true. As the President of the United States pointed out on January 8, 1918, the acid test of the sincerity of the Allies will lie in their treatment of Russia. Russia—not the Russia of the Tsar and his fellow-traitors—but the true Russia, the Russia of Tolstoi and Gorki, of Lvov and Kerensky, of Lenine and Trotzky, has made the greatest of sacrifices in this war of peoples against privileges. Eight millions of Russian manhood has paid the penalty on the battle field, paid because of the treachery of its leadership, not because of the strength of the enemy; paid because the military weakness of the Allies in the west twice called for a great immolation in the east. This must not be forgotten. Nor must it be forgotten that Russia, if the reports of most reliable and disinterested eye-witnesses are true, even the Russia of Lenine and Trotzky, disabled from carrying on the war with arms carried it on with ideas, carried it on in the heart of Germany and with victorious effect. From Berne and Moscow, from Berlin and from Copenhagen, her educational propaganda went out. It permeated the workers. It strengthened the hands of the Independent Socialists, the only effective opposition at home which German imperialism faced. It wore down the supporting economic organization behind the beaten but not defeated German army. In spite of the protests and menaces of the imperial German government, it went on, from the hearth of the Russian embassy in Berlin itself. It went on as the Russian emissaries had at Brest-Litovsk declared it would go on. It truly hastened victory. This also must not be forgotten.

Europe and America owe their liberation from the Teuton menace in no small degree to the men and women of Russia. With what coin will they repay Russia? With the imposition upon the people of Russia of a government of "law and order" by the force of Allied and American arms? With the insurance of the loans of foreign bondholders to the Tsarist government that betrayed them, by the force of Allied and American arms? Or with assistance to any and all constructive social agencies in Russia to restore agriculture and industry, to reestablish and multiply communications, and to let the Russian people determine for themselves what sort of government they wish? They are not less competent than the Mexicans, and they deserve infinitely better treatment at the hands of Europe and America. "The treatment accorded to Russia by her sister nations in the months to come," said the President of the United States on January 8, 1918, "will be the acid test of their good will, of *their comprehension of her need as distinguished from their own interests,* and of their intelligent and unselfish sympathy." (The italics are mine.) What "sister nation," one wonders, has shown true gold under this acid test, or is likely to show?

With the gage at Armageddon, which is Russia, belong properly also that congeries of new states created by the recognition of the sovereignty and independence of Czecho-Slovaks, Poles, Jugo-Slavs, Serbs, Montenegrins and other Central European nationalities. Each one of these nationalities dominates a territory inhabited by large majorities of other nationalities. In each one of these states, and particularly in those others created by Brest-Litovsk—in Finland, the Baltic provinces, Ukraine, and still more particularly in Rumania, peasant is violently arrayed against exploiting landlord, workman against employer. The conflict between nationalities—Ruthenes against Poles in Poland, Croats against Serbs in Jugo-Slavia, Germans against Czecho-Slovaks in Bohemia, all nationalities against Jews everywhere, but particularly in Poland and Rumania—this conflict of nationalities is complicated furthermore by a conflict of religious sects—Catholic against Orthodox against Lutheran against Socialist—and that is crossed by the fundamental warfare of masses and classes. The acid test in these instances will be the steps taken to safeguard national and religious minorities and to safeguard the freedom of men from the usurpations of property. Armageddon is certain in this portion of Central Europe if political sovereignties are allowed their traditional unregulated and irresponsible sway; and if economic equality and freedom is not established for them as it was for the thirteen sovereign states of the United States of America.

This cannot, however, be done without an effective organization of the League of Nations at least in accord with the principles laid down by President Wilson. But will it be done? How will the government of England act when now already Mr. Hughes of Australia is shouting down a just peace in Australia's interest, when now already Mr. Lloyd George is appealing to the country on a platform of "imperial preference" in trade and commerce, for the integration of the British Empire against the world? Now already the large shipping interests of England and the British navalists are acting on the assumption that the American attitude at the peace table will partake of the imperialism which is most natural to their own. They are preparing for a bitter competition in shipping and in trade. Nor are they too likely to welcome any alternative to it, for an alternative must carry with it the entire revision of the relation of Britain to the high seas. It must carry with it the establishment of the League of Nations. "The freedom of the seas" and the League of Nations are to a

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large degree coincident. It is a peculiarly American principle, and Mr. Wilson has adhered to it from his first word on peace conditions to his last. His definitive formulation of this principle was made in his address to the Senate, January 22, 1917:

> So far as practicable, moreover, every great people now struggling toward a full development of its resources and of its powers should be assured a direct outlet to the great highways of the sea. Where this cannot be done by the cession of territory it can no doubt be done by the neutralization of direct rights of way under the general guaranty which will assure peace itself. With a right comity of arrangement no nation need be shut away from free access to the open paths of the world's commerce.
>
> And the paths of the sea must alike in law and in fact be free. The freedom of the seas is the *sine qua non* of peace, equality, and cooperation. No doubt a somewhat radical reconsideration of many of the rules of international practice hitherto sought to be established may be necessary in order to make the seas indeed free and common in practically all circumstances for the use of mankind, but the motive for such changes is convincing and compelling. There can be no trust or intimacy between the peoples of the world without them.
>
> The free, constant, unthreatened intercourse of nations is an essential part of the process of peace and of development. It need not be difficult to define or to secure the freedom of the seas if the governments of the world sincerely desire to come to an agreement concerning it.

This formulation stands. It is accepted by the masses of England, by the masses of Europe. It is a part of the explicit programme of these masses. With whom, at the negotiations at the peace table, will the representatives of America feel themselves forced to stand? If they are persuaded by the imperialists—and why may they not be persuaded?—they will betray these masses who have taken their guidance and leadership from America. And if they are persuaded by the imperialists, they will occasion in France and in England and in Italy precisely the "disorder" that has overtaken Switzerland and Holland and Belgium and Spain. They will extend to the whole of Europe the revolution of Russia and Germany and Austria-Hungary and Bulgaria. This is in their power because of the key-position which the United States, through the advantages gained by the misfortunes of Europe, occupies today in the economy of the world.

If they are persuaded by the imperialists they will be persuaded because they are afraid. Because they are afraid of the bugaboo "Bolshevism." But for America they need not be afraid. The individualistic character of life in America renders impossible that type of class-unity, without which "Bolshevism" is impotent. The impotence of the Socialists as a political party, the attitude of American labor toward Socialist doctrine and programmes should make that clear beyond question. Until American society has the density and stratification of society in Europe Socialism cannot take root in the United States. In Europe it springs as naturally and inevitably from the character of European society as individualism does from American. For this reason, the attempt to escape it by embracing imperialism will only substitute for the reconstruction of legislative reform the reconstruction of civil war. The way to meet "Bolshevism" is to cooperate with it, to neutralize its power for evil by making it an ally, by giving it also an interest in maintaining the relevant aspects of the present order of the world, and leaving men and women free in their own lands to choose for themselves between the conflicting elements of the two orders. Such a cooperation is possible only through a League of Nations constituted democratically and grounded on the community of economic interest and action between self-governing peoples.

H. M. KALLEN.

CORRESPONDENCE

The Prussian Method

SIR: A Socialist leader was advertised to speak at Bridge Square, Minneapolis, this afternoon. The occasion was to be a celebration of the victory of the working classes in Europe. The programme appealed to me as being both novel and up-to-date and I decided to attend.

As I approached the meeting place I was surprised to find the streets on both sides leading up to the square filled with long lines of uniformed men armed with heavy rifles. Entirely surrounding the square there were slowly moving automobiles loaded to capacity with armed men, the long barrels of their guns protruding high above their heads. This great show of arms impressed me as a rather elaborate tribute to pay to a Socialist meeting.

I discovered upon inquiry that these troops belonged to the National Guard and the Motor Reserve Corps of the State of Minnesota, and that they had been ordered out by the Governor for the purpose of preventing this particular Socialist citizen from delivering his speech. They were not out on parade, as I had at first supposed, but were there for business, and they soon found occasion to test their courage. A small band of men and women quietly filed out from a side street carrying two or three banners. An officer leaped to the centre of the street and ordered his men to charge. They met the parade head on, and set to work with the butt ends of their rifles. The banners were quickly demolished, and the leaders of the "revolution" were hustled into waiting automobiles and sent, under heavy guard, to jail. Directly in front of me an inoffensive looking young man, holding in his hands the broken staff of one of the banners, was felled to the ground by the fist of an "officer" and as he rose was cuffed and kicked by the "soldiers" as they dragged him to the sheriff's car. The most offensive of these banners carried the inscription, "WE DEMAND OUR CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS."

There was no Socialist meeting this afternoon. The Governor and his troops were entirely successful in the object they set out to accomplish. I am wondering, however, what the effect would be if this method of meeting the Socialist Menace were adopted throughout the country. Is it not possible that it would breed more Bolsheviki than it suppressed?

The only saving element in the afternoon's performance was that this great display of amateur military talent was treated by the majority of the crowd as a huge joke. But whom was the joke on? It is easy to imagine a slight shift in the situation by which a large part of the humor would be lost.

A. WILLIAM OLMSTEAD.

Minneapolis, Minnesota.

Peace Delegates

SIR: We have this satisfaction, at any rate. The baseball magnates will put some of our peace delegates in the right perspective in a very few years. As Taft is, so may White, Lansing and Bliss be.

FAN.

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Henry Adams

The Education of Henry Adams, an Autobiography. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co. $5.00.

HENRY ADAMS was born with his name on the waiting list of Olympus, and he lived up to it. He lived up to it part of the time in London, as secretary to his father at the Embassy; part of the time at Harvard, teaching history; most of the time in Washington, in La Fayette Square. Shortly before he was born the stepping stone to Olympus in the United States was Boston. Sometimes Boston and Olympus were confused. But not so long after 1838 the railroads came, and while Boston did its best to control the country through the railroads there was an inevitable shift in political gravity, and the centre of power became Ohio. It was Henry Adams's fate to knock at the door of fame when Ohio was in power; and Ohio did not comprehend Adams's credentials. Those credentials, accordingly, were the subject of some wry scrutiny by their possessor. They were valid, at any rate, at the door of history and Henry Adams gave a dozen years to Jefferson and Madison. It was his humor afterwards to say he had but three serious readers—Abram Hewitt, Wayne McVeagh and John Hay. His composure in the face of this coolness was, however, a strange blending of serenities derived equally from the cosmos and from La Fayette Square. He was not above the anodyne of exclusiveness. Even his autobiography, a true title to Olympus, was issued to a bare hundred readers before his death, and was then deemed too incomplete to be made public. It is made public now nominally for "students" but really for the world that didn't know an Adams when it saw one.

For mere stuff the book is incomparable. Henry Adams had the advantage of full years and happy faculty, and his book is the rich harvest of both. He had none of that anecdotal inconsequentiality which is a bad tradition in English recollections. He saved himself from mere recollections by taking the world as an educator and himself as an experiment in education. His two big books were contrasted as Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres: A Study of Thirteenth-Century Unity, and The Education of Henry Adams: A Study of Twentieth-Century Multiplicity. The stress on multiplicity was all the more important because he considered himself eighteenth century to start with, and had in fact the unity of simple Americanism at the beginning.

Simple Americanism goes to pieces like the pot of basil in this always expanding tale of a development. There are points about the development, about its acceptance of a "supersensual multiverse," which only a Karl Pearson or an Ernst Mach or a Balfour could satisfactorily discuss or criticize. A reader like myself gazes through the glass bottom of Adams's style into unplumbed depths of speculation. Those depths are clear and crisp. They deserve to be investigated. But a "dynamic theory of history" is no proper inhabitant of autobiography, and "the larger synthesis" is not yet so domesticated as the plebeian idea of God. That Adams should conduct his study to these ends is, in one sense, a magnificent culmination. A theory of life is the fit answer to the supersensual riddle of living. But when the theory must be technical and even professional, an autobiography has no climax in a theory. It is better to revert, as Adams does, to the classic features of human drama: "Even in America, the Indian Summer of life should be a little sunny and a little sad, like the season, and infinite in wealth and depth of tone—but never hustled." It is enough to have the knowledge that along certain lines the prime conceptions were shattered and the new conceptions pushed forward, the tree of Adams rooting itself firmly in the twentieth century, coiled round the dynamos and the law of acceleration.

Whatever the value of his theory, Henry Adams embraced the modernity that gradually dawned on him and gave him his new view of life. Take his enthusiasm for world's fairs as a solitary example. One might expect him to be bored by them, but Hunt and Richardson and Stanford White and Burnham emerge heroically as the dramatizers of America, and Henry Adams soared over vulgarity to a perception of their "acutely interesting" exhibits. He was after—something. If the Virgin Mary could give it to him in Normandy, or St. Louis could give it to him among the Jugo-Slavs and the Ruthenians on the Mississippi, well done. No prejudices held him back. He who could interpret the fight for free silver without a sniff of impatience, who could study Grant without the least filming of patriotism, was not likely to turn up his nose at unfashionable faiths or to espouse fashionable heresies. He was after education and any century back or forward was grist to his mill. And his faith, even, was sure to be a sieve with holes in it. "All one's life," as he confesses grimly, "one had struggled for unity, and unity had always won," yet "the multiplicity of unity had steadily increased, was increasing, and threatened to increase beyond reason." Beyond reason, then, it was reasonable to proceed, and the son of Ambassador Adams moved from the sanctity of Union with his feet feeling what way they must, and his eye on the star of truth.

So steady is that gaze, one almost forgets how keen it is. But there is no single dullness, as I remember, in 505 large pages, and there are portraits like those of Lodge or La Farge or St. Gaudens or the Adamses, which have the delicacy and fidelity of Holbein. A colorist Adams is not, nor is he a dramatist. But he has few equals in the succinct expressiveness that his historical sense demands, and he can load a sentence with a world of meaning. Take, for instance, the phrase in which he denies unity to London society. "One wandered about in it like a maggot in cheese; it was not a hansom cab, to be got into, or out of, at dinner-time." He says of St. Gaudens that "he never laid down the law, or affected the despot, or became brutalized like Whistler by the brutalities of his world." In a masterly chapter on woman he summed up, "The woman's force had counted as inertia of rotation, and her axis of rotation had been the cradle and the family. The idea that she was weak revolted all history; it was a palaeontological falsehood that even an Eocene female monkey would have laughed at; but it was surely true that, if force were to be diverted from its axis, it must find a new field, and the family must pay for it. . . She must, like the man, marry machinery." In Cambridge "the liveliest and most agreeable of men—James Russell Lowell, Francis J. Child, Louis Agassiz, his son Alexander, Gurney, John Fiske, William James and a dozen others, who would have made the joy of London or Paris—tried their best to break out and be like other men in Cambridge and Boston, but society called them professors, and professors they had to be. While all these brilliant men were greedy for companionship, all were famished for want of it. Society was a faculty-meeting without business. The elements were there; but society cannot be made up of elements—people who are expected to be silent unless they have observations to make—and all the elements are bound to remain apart if required to make observations."

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Keen as this is, it does not alter one great fact, that Henry Adams himself felt the necessity of making observations. He approached autobiography buttoned to the neck. Like many bottled-up human beings he had a real impulse to release himself, and to release himself in an autobiography if nowhere else, but spontaneous as was the impulse, he could no more unveil the whole of an Adams to the eye of day than he could dance like Nijinski. In so far as the Adamses were institutional he could talk of them openly, and he could talk of John Hay and Clarence King and Henry Cabot Lodge and John La Farge and St. Gaudens as any liberated host might reveal himself in the warm hour after dinner. But this is not the Dionysiac tone of autobiography and Henry Adams was not Dionysiac. He was not limitedly Bostonian. He was sensitive, he was receptive, he was tender, he was more scrod than cod. But the mere mention of Jean Jacques Rousseau in the preface of this autobiography raises doubts as to Henry Adams's evasive principle, "the object of study is the garment, not the figure." The figure, Henry Adams's, had nagging interest for Henry Adams, but something racial required him to veil it. He could not, like a Rousseau or "like a whore, unpack his heart with words."

The subterfuge, in this case, was to lay stress on the word "education." Although he was nearly seventy when he laid the book aside and although education means nothing if it means everything, the whole seventy years were deliberately taken as devotion to a process, that process being visualized much more as the interminable repetition of the educational escalator itself than as the progress of the person who moves forward with it. Moves forward to where? It was the triumph of Henry Adams's detachment that no escalator could move him forward anywhere because he was not bound anywhere in particular. Such a man, of course, could speak of his life as perpetually educational. There was no wolf to devour him if his education in dodging wolves proved incomplete. Faculty qua faculty could remain a permanent quandary to him, so long as he were not forced to be vocational, so long as he could speculate on "a world that sensitive and timid natures could regard without a shudder."

The unemployed faculty of Henry Adams, however, is one of the principal fascinations of this altogether fascinating book. What was it that kept Henry Adams on a footstool before John Hay? What was it that sent him from Boston to Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres? The man was a capable and ambitious man, if ever there was one. He was not merely erudite and reflective and emancipatingly sceptical, he was also a man of the largest inquiry and the most scrupulous inclusiveness, a man of the nicest temper and the sanest style. How could such justesse go begging, even in the United States? Little bitter as the book is, one feels Henry Adams did go begging. Behind his modest screen he sat waiting for a clientage that never came, while through a hole he could see a steady crowd go pouring into the gilded doors across the way. The modest screen was himself. He could not detach it. But the United States did not see beyond the screen. A light behind a large globule of colored water could at any moment distract it. And in England, for that matter, only the Monckton Milneses kept the Delanes from brushing Adams away, like a fly.

The question is, on what terms did Adams want life? It is characteristic of him that he does not specify. But one gathers from his very reticence that he had least use of all for an existence which required moral multiplicity. Where he seems gravest and least self-superintending is in

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those criticisms of his friends that indicate the sacrifice of integrity. He was no prig. Not one bleat of priggishness is heard in all his intricate censure of the eminent British statesmen who sapped the Union. But there is a fund of significance in his criticism of Senator Lodge's career, pages 418 and on, in which "the larger study was lost in the division of interests and the ambitions of fifth-rate men." It is in a less concerned tone that the New Yorker Roosevelt is discussed. "Power when wielded by abnormal energy is the most serious of facts, and all Roosevelt's friends know that his restless and combative energy was more than abnormal. Roosevelt, more than any other man living within the range of notoriety, showed the singular primitive quality that belongs to ultimate matter—the quality that mediaeval theology assigned to God—he was pure act." Pure act Henry Adams was not. If Roosevelt exhibited "the effect of unlimited power on limited mind," he himself exhibited the contrary effect of limited power on unlimited mind. Why his power remained so limited was the mystery. Was he a watched kettle that could not boil? Or had he no fire in his belly? Or did the fire fail to meet the kettle? Almost any problem of inhibition would be simpler, but one could scarcely help ascribing something to that refrigeration of enthusiasm which is the Bostonian's revenge on wanton life force. Except for his opaline ethics, never glaring yet never dulled, he is manifestly toned down to suit the most neurasthenic exaction. Or, to put it more crudely, he is emotion Fletcherized to the point of inanition.

Pallid and tepid as the result was, in politics, the autobiography is a refutation of anaemia. There was, indeed, something meagre about Henry Adams's soul, as there is

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something meagre about a Japanese color-print or a butterfly. But the lack of sanguine or exuberant feeling, the lack of buoyancy and enthusiasm, is merely a hint that one must classify, not a command that one condemn. For all this book's parsimony, for all its psychological silences and timidities, it is an original contribution, transcending caste and class, combining true mind and matter. Compare its comment on education to the comment of Joan and Peter —Henry Adams is to H. G. Wells as triangulation to tape-measuring. That profundity of relations which goes by the name of understanding was part of his very nature. Unlike H. G. Wells, he was incapable of cant. He had no demagoguery, no mob-oratory, no rhetoric. This enclosed him in himself to a dangerous degree, bordered him on priggishness and on egoism. But he had too much quality to succumb to these diseases of the sedentary soul. He survives, and with greatness.

F. H.

Another Poet of the Streets

Outcasts in Beulah Land, by Roy Helton. New York: Henry Holt & Company. $1.25.

ROY HELTON is a newcomer, a stranger to poetry societies, poetry courses, even to the ubiquitous poetry magazines. And yet he has more poetic feeling for the America we live in than eighty per cent of our craftsmen whose patriotism is so easily minted and so quickly sold. He lacks the incisive power of many of them; he falls frequently into a careless and outworn rhetoric; he has yet to command an idiom of his own. But he has already achieved an inflection. Outcasts in Beulah Land is a personal and distinctive volume, if only for the author's unusual themes and the casual way in which he has treated them. With a talent for rhymed narratives, which was doubtless his birthright as a Southern mountaineer, Roy Helton takes an incompetent clerk, or a tired mill-girl, the tinsel glitter of Market Street, a city boy and a turn of twine, a corner crossing or a chop suey interior, and makes ballads out of them as romantic as they are real. Here is an unusually brief visualization, a concentrated short story, where sympathy and satire are nicely balanced:

IN PASSING

Through the dim window I could see
The little room—a sordid square
Of helter-skelter penury:
Piano, whatnot, splintered chair. . . .

It is so small a room that I
Seem almost at the woman's side:
Galled jade—too fat for vanity,
And far too frankly old for pride.

Her greasy apron round her waist;
The dish-cloth by her on the chair:
As though, in some wild headlong haste,
She had come in and settled there.

Grimly she bends her back and tries
To stab the keys with heavy hand;
A child's first finger exercise
Before her on the music stand.

The title poem is the most ambitious thing in the book—the triple tale of a distinguished art-collector, an old blind beggar hung for murder, and Fish-house Mary, a dead prostitute, who meet on the threshold of Hell—but it is, in spite of its originality of theme, one of the least original in effect. It reminds one alternately of a slangy John Davidson and a macabre John Masefield. Helton is more persuasive in the shorter poems of urban life. On the Fire Escape is as potent as many of the old Kentucky ballads; in Youth a gutter-snipe fishing up broken ornaments out of an ash-can becomes the elfin embodiment of joy. In Aesthetic Symbols a crone with a rusty black bonnet on her head and an ice cream cone in her hand leans upon an iron stairway and is as glamorous to the poet as The Blesséd Damozel. And in Mazie the eternal feminine is, for all her surroundings, scarcely less virginal than Eve. Even the metre of the verse prompts the comparison, for it seems, at first glance, little more than a half-ironic parody of

Eve with her basket was
Deep in the bells and grass,
Wading in bells and grass
Up to her knees. . .

Thus the opening of Hodgson's Eve, Mazie begins:

Lonely-eyed Mazie sat
In the old Automat,
Dreaming, ah, dreaming a
Dream of some golden day;
Dreaming, ah, dreaming
Strange dreams never told
By the shy, hidden-hearted,
Dear ladies of old.

But after a few lines one forgets what seemed a wanton burlesque of the lovely model and the poem, winning us on its own account, glows with a magic that is almost as colorful as it is authentic. Time and again, Helton in scratching the surface of everyday pierces the commonplace and reveals the glowing core of reality. Notice Ten Minutes at Tea Time, Busy, Aunt Josie's Chatty Letter, Three Smiles on Vine Street, or this sudden illumination:

Last night, as through the crowd on Market Street,
A new-made soldier proudly swung along
Guiding that grey-eyed wonder called his girl,
Whose face turned up to him in silent song;
I marked above those gay young hearts in tune,
The unimportant beauty of the moon.

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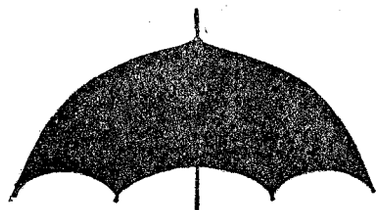

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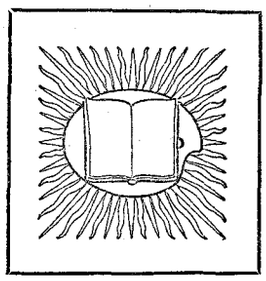

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